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**Producing and Marketing Translations in Fascist
Italy: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women***

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Italian Studies
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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university. Material included in this thesis has appeared in the article 'African-American Slave or Subject of the Italian Colonial Empire? The Trajectory of Uncle Tom in Italy during the Fascist Ventennio', *Tropos*, 3.1 (2016) 22-29.

Abstract

The thesis investigates the sociological, cultural and ideological factors that affect the production and marketing of two major translations published in Fascist Italy and targeting both adult and young readers. The dissertation focuses upon a selected corpus of translations of the American novels, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and *Little Women* (1868), which were repeatedly translated between the 1920s and 1940s.

By adopting an interdisciplinary approach, which encompasses fields such as the history of publishing, the sociology of translation, children's literature, studies on the role and functions of the Paratext and scholarship on Fascism and its cultural policy, this study aims to offer a detailed examination of the Italian publishing market during the Ventennio. It probes the contexts informing the publishing history of these translations, their readerships, and interrelations with the growing importance of cinema, as well as questions related to the various re-translations produced. Furthermore, given the central role of publishing in the shaping of political consent and the contradictory attitude of the regime towards translations, this thesis explores ideological influences affecting selected translations of these novels that centre on issues of particular resonance for the regime, namely, race and gender.

The dissertation is divided in two parallel sections, each one divided into three chapters. The opening chapters in each part examine the publishing history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* respectively, with attention to the USA, the UK, and France and a primary focus upon Italy, above all Fascist Italy. The following chapters in each section investigate the role that the visual representations of these two books played in conveying racial and gender aspects and in contributing to the construction of their meaning by the readers. Finally, the closing chapters of each section are devoted to a translation analysis of selected passages in order to survey translational behaviours used to depict feminine and racial features, given that these were known to be especially problematic during the Ventennio. This survey aims to pinpoint norms informing translations targeting both young people and adults.

Introduction

This thesis examines the sociological, cultural and ideological contexts affecting the production and marketing of translations published in Fascist Italy and targeting adult and young readers. It provides case studies of two American novels translated into Italian in Fascist Italy. The study presents for the first time a comparative, longitudinal history of publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) by Harriet Beecher Stowe and *Little Women* (1868) by Louisa May Alcott in the USA, UK, France and Italy. The analysis starts with a wide-ranging investigation of the context of publishing of these novels in a transnational perspective before turning to the primary focus which is their Italian history and specifically the print publications produced during the Fascist period. Alongside the study of such contexts, the dissertation also provides a focused enquiry into the translated text, which is scrutinised through a corpus of selected passages with bearing on major themes of relevance to the Fascist period. The investigation thus aims to examine the contexts informing the publishing history of these translations, their readerships, interconnections with the growing prominence of cinema, as well as questions related to the various re-translations produced. The novels selected also allow us to explore ideological concerns in the translations related to issues that were pivotal for the regime – race and gender – while at the same time, through attention to the earlier translation history of editions published in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, to give account of continuities and discontinuities between Liberal and Fascist Italy.

This introduction sets out the methodology used, traces earlier studies in the field of publishing translations during Fascist Italy, identifies gaps in the scholarship, justifies my selection of editions and of translation passages and clarifies aspects of terminology. The methodology adopted in this dissertation combines a historical approach with Bourdieusian and paratextual approaches to translation. Particularly, Bourdieusian categories such as field, economic and symbolic capital inform the examination of editions and translations included in the corpus.¹ Here translation is viewed as an enactment, an activity 'carried out by

¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, trans. by Richard Nice and others (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

individuals who belong to a social system',² as well as a product. As such, translation is 'inevitably implicated in social institutions, which significantly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation and, as a result, the strategies adopted in the translation itself'.³ This methodology will allow us to situate the production of translations in the dynamics of the publishing field. The empirical findings that will be achieved through these two case studies allow us to explore the socio-cultural and economic constraints that lead the agents acting in the publishing market to produce editions combining translations and illustrations already present in the market or featuring original images and translations. At the same time, such findings allow us to consider the role of the particular visual form (constituted by book covers and inside illustrations, as well the presence of prefaces, and footnotes), assumed by these editions, in conveying different meanings to the readers. By studying the successive retranslations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* circulating in Italy during the Ventennio and targeting different publics we will be able to understand more clearly 'the way in which the form that transmits a text to its readers or hearers constrains the production of meaning'.⁴

The reconstruction of the history of the Italian translations of these novels started with the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. An uninterrupted series of editions was published in Italy beginning in 1852, and this invited closer study of the possible connections between the translations produced in Liberal Italy and those published under Fascism. Of the 94 editions and reprints of Beecher Stowe's novel published in Italy between 1852 and 1945, 53 were issued under the Ventennio. Interestingly, the *Little Women* case study has a different diffusion and set of chronological boundaries. The novel entered the Italian market before the advent of Fascism, in 1908, but the number of its editions increased only from the 1920s. In the first two decades of the twentieth century only three of the 23 editions and reprints of *Little Women* published from 1908 to the 1940s come out. The comparison is therefore drawn between the publishing trajectories of a novel

² Michaela Wolf, 'The Emergence of a Sociology of Translation', in *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* ed. by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2007), pp. 1-36 (p. 1).

³ Wolf, 'The Emergence of a Sociology', p. 1.

⁴ Roger Chartier, 'Introduction' to *Forms and meanings*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane and others (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 1.

which was already well established before the Ventennio with another one that became a classic during that period.

As a zone of direct contact between text and readers, the paratext is ‘the most socialised side of the practice of literature (the organization of its relationship with the public)’.⁵ Taking into account the way in which *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and *Little Women* aimed at different kinds of audience, this study will focus on the paratext in its two components: peritext (elements within the same volume) and epitext (distanced elements, originally located outside the book).⁶ The paratext will be considered here from a diachronic point of view, as an ‘instrument of cultural translation’,⁷ since

Each edition of a work and, by extension, each paratext addresses a culturally-specific moment and a culturally-specific readership, thereby projecting a singular version of the text through the lens of the chronotope (time/place) of its publication.⁸

Employing recent methodological developments within the field of Translation Studies to examine the translation of paratext,⁹ the dissertation will scrutinise forewords, indices, advertisements and translations’ reviews of Beecher Stowe and Alcott’s novels. The analysis will focus in particular upon their visual representations, encompassing book covers and inside illustrations. For *Little Women*, the survey of the paratext will also include magazine articles reviewing the film version directed by George Cukor and released in Italy in 1934. The film crosses over into the history of the Italian translations of the book, at the very moment that new translations by Aurora and Bietti in 1934 and 1935 are released, and which are aimed at film spectators. As we will see, book illustrations and Cukor’s film become interwoven phenomena, since stills from the film began to

⁵ Gérard Genette and Marie MacLean, ‘Introduction to the Paratext’, *New Literary History*, 22.2 (1991), 261-72 (p. 270).

⁶ For the definition of paratext the classical study is Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 5.

⁷ Richard Watts, ‘Translating Culture: Reading the Paratext to Aimé Césaire’s *Cahier d’un retour au pays natal*’, *TTR*, 13.2 (2000), 29-45 (p. 31).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *Translation Peripheries. Paratextual Elements in Translation* ed. by Anna Gil Bardají, Pilar Orero and Sara Rovira Esteva (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012).

decorate Italian editions of *Little Women* that were published in the same year as the release of the film in Italy, and their influence extended at least until 1941.¹⁰

The importance of illustrations acquires special salience within the Italian publishing field during the Ventennio, when the beginning of mass production occasioned the development of mass advertising and the enhancement of the paratextual features of books. Publishers were particularly attentive to publishing strategies and chose volume covers 'according to the supposed profile of the readers'.¹¹ Beyond the specific marketing function of appealing to readers, book covers and inside illustrations strongly contribute to the interpretation of texts. We will therefore examine their function as hermeneutic tools that might allow us to disclose their ideological function. At the same time, we will also pay attention to how much the visual element is embedded in the historical and the cultural context as the choice of particular images can impact upon the general interpretation of a book. Likewise, the same function can be fulfilled by the omission of specific illustrations. The complex interrelation between visual and written codes is all the more tangled when illustrated texts are translated. During this process, different scenarios can take place: translated texts can use the same images of the originals, lose all of them or generate new images. For these reasons, this thesis adopts a perspective that repeatedly focuses on the interplay between depicted images and words, in the form of captions or passages in the novels.

Translating, as any other social activity, is governed by norms followed by translators and publishers and that are subject to change over time.¹² They are to some extent influenced by the translators' and publishers' habitus, which is intended as a set of dispositions (habits, skills and tastes) affecting the translational behaviour.¹³ The study of the history of publishing combined with the examination of the paratext and translations allowed to pinpoint practices of

¹⁰ Whilst several film versions were also taken from Beecher Stowe's novel, they have not been considered in the section concerning its visual representations as they did not tangibly influence its Italian editions, as it happened in the case of *Little Women*. See John Frick, *Uncle Tom's Cabin on the American Stage and Screen* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 183-223.

¹¹ Sarah Bonciarelli, 'Page Composing and Lettering Games: Experimentation in Italy in the 1930s', *Authorship*, 2.1 (2012) available online at <<http://www.authorship.ugent.be/article/view/763/755>> [last accessed on September 2014].

¹² The term norms has been differently used within Translation Studies and has often been called into question; see the discussion in Schäffner 'The Concept of Norms in Translation Studies' in *Translation and Norms*, ed. by Christina Schäffner (Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 1999) pp. 1-8.

¹³ The Bourdieusian concept of *habitus* was firstly applied to translation studies by Daniel Simeoni in Daniel Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus', *Target*, 10.1 (1998), 1-39.

some publishers and translators. However, because of the high number of anonymous translations included in the selected corpus and the impossibility of scrutinising archival evidence, and publishing correspondence in particular, this study cannot fully retrace the habitus of translators and publishers. First the investigation of norms identifies strategies of domestication, defined as ‘a reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values’.¹⁴ Secondly, it aims to ascertain whether different sets of norms are in use in editions targeting different readerships. Translating for young readers is ruled by specific norms, which encompass didactic and pedagogical norms that are meant to make the text suitable to their cognitive development. When the translator privileges these last norms, ‘the compliance to source text related norms may be jeopardized’.¹⁵

As this study considers translation as a form of rewriting, distinguishing between translation and adaptation is particularly difficult, especially when editions for a young audience are surveyed. Since ‘translation is always an issue of different users of the texts, which involves rewriting for new target – language audiences’,¹⁶ translations and adaptations both appear to be ‘forms of editing and collaboration’.¹⁷ Oittinen’s argument aimed to reevaluate the concept of adaptation, which is often interpreted by critics of literature for children simply as equivalent to abridgement, and – in any case – is considered ‘less valuable than a full text’.¹⁸ From her perspective, the terms translation and adaptation show areas of overlap, and her insights are relevant to my own approach. Even more suitable to my analysis, however, is Hutcheon’s theory of adaptation, and particularly her conception of a ‘reception continuum’. This definition relates to the difficulty of tracing a neat division between translation and adaptation.¹⁹ According to Hutcheon, at one extreme of the continuum, there are literary translations; then

¹⁴ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility* (London: Routledge, 1995) p. 20.

¹⁵ Isabelle Desmidt, ‘A Propotypical Approach within Descriptive Translation Studies?’, in *Children’s Literature in Translation: Challenges and Strategies*, ed. by Jan Van Coillie and Walter P. Verschueren (Manchester; Kinderhook, NY: St. Jerome, 2006), pp. 79-96 (p. 88).

¹⁶ Riitta Oittinen, *Translating for Children* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 74-75.

¹⁷ Oittinen, *Translating*, p. 75. For a consideration of translation as a rewriting, see André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of the Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁸ Ibid. Oittinen criticises some scholars in literature for children, particularly Zohar Shavit and Gote Klingberg, who consider adaptations and abridgements as bad practice for children’s literature. They maintain that translators of literature for children do not have to adapt a text, ‘since the authors of the source text (for children) have already taken into consideration their readers’ (see pp. 80-93 and quotation at p. 89).

¹⁹ Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 171.

come bowdlerisations or censorings ‘in which the changes are obvious, deliberate and in some way restrictive’;²⁰ and finally, we find retellings of familiar tales and revisions of popular ones, which come at the other extreme. In all of these three modes of engagement, we are in the ‘realm of adaptation’.²¹ Like every book aiming at a dual audience, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and *Little Women* challenge the translator. The dual audience implies that the writer addresses child and adult readers at the same time.²² Due to this co-presence of audiences, the translator of this type of book has ‘to decide where on the spectrum from adult to child readership to place a new version’.²³ The translator’s opportunity to move within this spectrum allows him/her an identification of overlapping norms between translations targeting adults and children. Throughout this thesis, I have used the terms ‘young’ and ‘children’ in an interchangeable way, as I suppose editions for younger people targeting an age gap roughly between 8 and 15 years.²⁴

Ultimately, the empirical findings of this study will be compared and contrasted with current suppositions around the retranslation hypothesis.²⁵ Traditionally encapsulated in Berman’s intervention, one hypothesis posits that later translations tend to be closer to the source text.²⁶ He argues therefore for a linear progression of successive retranslations motivated by the intrinsic flaws of the translation itself. More recent interventions by Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen, Siobhan Brownlie, Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva and Sharon Deane-Cox

²⁰ Hutcheon and O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 171.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Barbara Wall, *The Narrator’s Voice: the Dilemma of Children’s Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 22.

²³ Gillian Lathey, *The Role of Translators in Children’s Literature: Invisible Storytellers* (New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. 168.

²⁴ This assumption is formed on the basis of evaluating the editions with the help of the data available from two series included in the corpus: the edition of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* published in ‘Collana dei bei libri’ by Paravia that targets ‘giovinetti’ and the Bemporad series ‘Nuova collezione economica Bemporad di racconti, romanzi e avventure per la gioventù’ targets readers from 8 to 15 years.

²⁵ On the complex issue of retranslation see Antoine Berman, ‘La retraduction comme espace de la traduction’, *Palimpsestes*, 4 (1986) 2-7; Isabelle Vanderschelden, ‘Why Retranslate the French Classics? The Impact of Retranslation and Quality’, in *On Translating French Literature and Film II*, ed. by Myriam Salama-Carr (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 1-18; Isabelle Collombat, ‘Le XXI siècle: l’âge de la retraduction’, *Translation Studies in the New Millennium*, 2 (2004), 1-16; Siobhan Brownlie, ‘Narrative Theory and Retranslation Theory’, *Across Languages and Cultures*, 7.2 (2006), 145-70; Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva, *Theories on the Move: Translation’s Role in the Travels of Literary Theories* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006); Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen, ‘Reprocessing Texts. The Fine Line between Retranslating and Revising’, *Across Languages and Cultures*, 11.1 (2010), 24-49; Sharon Deane-Cox, *Retranslation: Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation* (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

²⁶ Berman, ‘La retraduction’, 2-7.

emphasise instead the role that the socio-cultural context plays in the retranslation phenomenon. The approach of this thesis sides with these last contributions after testing Berman's hypothesis. The examination of retranslations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* will highlight the importance of external factors on the process of retranslation, as well as question the chronological criterion according to which retranslations follow in sequence in their progressive closeness to the original text.

Given the different history of publishing of these two American novels, the number of selected editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* varies significantly. This study ultimately aims to investigate target texts. Therefore, according to the definition given by Gideon Toury, it considers all the *assumed translations* of a same text, 'all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture'.²⁷ However, anonymous as well as acknowledged translations were issued by large and smaller publishers working during the Ventennio and both these kinds of firms have been selected in order to offer the broadest and most representative sample possible. So as to understand the elements of change introduced in Fascist editions, as well as aspects of continuity with those issued in the first decade of the twentieth century, editions that appeared before the establishment of the regime have also been consulted. The selection of editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* produced before the Ventennio was only limited to those produced by the publishers that kept publishing the novel under the regime. The first Italian edition of *Little Women* published in 1908 was included in the body of works, even though it was produced by a publisher that did not reissue it during the Ventennio, because it offers the only known link with pre-Fascist publication and translation history of the novel.

The uninterrupted history of publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Italy necessarily required a degree of selection in the corpus of editions examined in order to produce a manageable set of data. The analysis of Italian editions of this novel is based on a selected corpus of 17 samples, which appeared in the period 1920-1945: Bemporad 1920 [reprints of 1930 and 1937], Salani 1922, Salani 1927, Salani 1939, Salani 1940, Hoepli 1923 (III ed. 1928; IV ed. 1940), Barion 1928,

²⁷ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 32.

Nerbini 1928 (two different editions), Sonzogno 1930 [reprint of 1939], Bietti 1934, Paravia 1940. This number is almost a third of the total of the editions produced during the Ventennio (53). The corpus encompasses the most successful editions for children (published by Bemporad, Paravia and Hoepli); editions issued by the same publisher for two different audiences (Salani), marketed in series (Salani, Sonzogno) and as single volumes (Bietti); abridged and non-abridged editions put out by the same publisher (Nerbini); integral translations (Barion). These 17 between editions and reprints, however, do not correspond to 17 different translations. Bemporad 1920 (and its subsequent reprints for a young audience)²⁸ and Nerbini 1928 shared the same translation. Sonzogno 1930/1939, Salani 1922/1927/1939 and Bietti 1934 substantially republished all the same translation. The version issued by these three publishers differs only with regard to some marginal revisions, such as the punctuation, the spelling of some words (e.g. *giovinetto*>*giovanetto*), the order of words and, in a few cases, the use of some slightly different synonyms.

On the contrary, the shorter and fragmented history of publishing of *Little Women* allows us to analyse all the six translations which appeared in Italian editions published between 1908 and 1945 (Carabba 1908, Bemporad 1926, Bemporad 1934, Aurora 1934, Bietti 1935, Corticelli 1941, Fiorini 1945). In this case the corpus encompasses integral translations (Carabba and Corticelli) and abridged versions (Bemporad, Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini) published for a young and an adult audience.²⁹

In order to trace the history of English editions and French translations, I have referred to the editions mentioned in the secondary bibliography. Both the novels, and especially *Little Women*, have a scant bibliography on their history of publishing outside the USA.³⁰ These data were then integrated with editions found

²⁸ The reprints date 1923, 1930 and 1937. See section 2.4.2. They also share the same illustrations within the book. Sharing the same illustrations was a practice well established for these two publishers. The same happens, for instance, in some editions of the *Fantastic Tales* by E. A. Poe, published by Nerbini in 1908 and Bemporad 1920 that share the same illustrations, although this time the translations are different.

²⁹ I refer to the samples included in the corpus as 'editions' when I talk about the publishing and paratextual features of volumes, while I use 'translations' when I deal specifically with their linguistic features.

³⁰ Fundamental for the reconstruction of a comparative history of publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were the website <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/sitemap.html>>, a multimedia archive directed by Stephen Railton (University of Virginia), that collects different kinds of resources focusing on *Uncle*

in electronic catalogues. For the British versions I compared the catalogues of the Bodleian Library, the British Library and Copac, which brings together the main British and Irish catalogues. For the French case I compared the *Index Translationum*³¹ with the Catalogue Collectif de France and the Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France.³²

Of course, the history of publishing of the Italian translations of *Little Women* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* delineated in this work is not exhaustive. The list of Italian editions was compiled combining data collected from the electronic catalogues of the National Library System, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome³³ and those from the hardcopy archives of Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome. Catalogue records of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* editions are mostly incomplete; therefore, it was not always possible to distinguish between new editions and reprints. Figures discussed concerning the UK, France and Italy include new editions and reprints with a certain date of publication.³⁴ Two appendices are provided containing a list of editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* published in these three countries from their first date of publication in the USA, respectively 1852 and 1868, to 1945. With respect to the Italian editions, the samples consulted are marked with an asterisk.

Tom's Cabin (e.g. editions and illustrations of the book, reviews, film adaptations), Claire Parfait's studies: *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin 1852-2002* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007) and 'Un succès américain' en France: La Case de l'Oncle Tom', *E-rea*, 7:2 (2010) available online at <<http://erea.revues.org/981>> [accessed July 2014] together with M. Wood, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in England: The Publishing, Piracy and Influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain 1852-1900', *Publishing History*, 32 (1992), 83-84, Audrey Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and *Transatlantic Stowe: Harriet Beecher Stowe and European Culture*, ed. by Denise Kohn, Sarah Meer and Emily Todd (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2009).

Concerning *Little Women* the only source available for its American and European history of publishing is Beverly Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife of Little Women* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

³¹ *Index Translationum*, Paris: Unesco, 31 vols.

³² The French and British catalogues were consulted at the following websites: <<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>>, <<http://www.bl.uk/#>>, <<http://copac.ac.uk>>, <<http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index.jsp>>, <<http://www.bnf.fr/fr/acc/x.accueil.html>> [all of them accessed July 2014].

³³ <<http://www.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/free.jsp>>, <<http://www.bncf.Florence.sbn.it>>, <<http://www.bncrm.librari.beniculturali.it>> [all of them accessed December 2013].

³⁴ Editions with an uncertain date of publication (i.e. editions that have a question mark next to the supposed date) are listed in the appendices, but they were not taken into consideration in the overall count of editions. On the other hand, editions whose date of publication oscillates between two years and editions that present at least a certain terminus ante quem (e.g. not before 1865) were included in the figures analysed.

1. Publishing translations in Fascist Italy

The conditions of the publishing field under the Fascist regime have only recently started to receive scholarly attention. Previous detailed surveys conducted in order to elucidate a history of publishing during the Ventennio have allowed scholars to gain insight into a complex and richly nuanced world in which the marketing of translations played an essential role. Despite the nationalist nature of the regime, Italy lacked an Italian popular literature, and translations of foreign literature were very successful.³⁵ In particular, the period between 1930 and 1940 was the so called 'decennio delle traduzioni',³⁶ during which Anglo-American literature became popular through translation. During the time span under examination, Italy was experiencing a process of great industrialisation of the publishing market, alongside the diffusion of cinema and radio. The development of these media marked the beginning of the formation of a mass culture in which 'l'offerta del prodotto/libro inizia a muoversi su sistemi di vendita e di promozione più aggiornati, caratterizzati dalla ricerca e dalla formazione di nuovi pubblici'.³⁷ The book became one of the many cultural products available on the market, and consequently required more attentive advertising from the publishers. In this context, paratexts performed a significant function in the promotion of the book and this helps to explain why our investigation pays such close attention to these features.

The Italian literary field was undergoing a pivotal change.³⁸ On the one hand, publishing enterprises were eager to appeal to new readerships in order to bring in new income. On the other, Fascism considered publishing central to the formation of political consent and, consequently, tried to control it. Ultimately, a move from an elitist to a mass culture was taking place under a dictatorial

³⁵ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderno 21 (XVII) 1934-1935. Problemi della cultura nazionale italiana*, 3 vol., pp. 2107-135, in *Quaderni dal carcere*, 4 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 2007).

³⁶ Cesare Pavese, *La letteratura americana e altri saggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1962), p. 247.

³⁷ Gianfranco Pedullà, 'Gli anni del Fascismo: imprenditoria e intervento statale', in *Storia dell'editoria nell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. by Gabriele Turi (Florence: Giunti, 1997), pp. 341-82 (p. 341).

³⁸ According to the Bourdieusian conception, the literary field is subject to 'the constraints governing the social world', sharing the same power relations of society. As a place of cultural production, the literary field is defined by the opposition of economic power (economic capital) and the cultural prestige (symbolic capital) accumulated by cultural institutions, including publishers. See discussion in Gisèle Sapiro, 'The Literary Field between the State and the Market', *Poetics*, 31 (2003), 441-64 (p. 441).

government. This transition caused what Gianfranco Pedullà defined as a 'relazione del tutto originale fra l'editoria privata e il mondo politico-istituzionale fascista'.³⁹ This 'original relationship' between the publishers and the regime mainly concerned translations. The issue of translating foreign literature embodied a fundamental cultural contradiction within the regime. Fascism aimed to 'foster a stronger national and Fascist identity through chauvinist, nationalist and eventually autarkic policies'.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, at the same time it sought 'to enhance the influence and prestige of Italian culture abroad'.⁴¹ With respect to this, translations bore an ambiguous freight: they were a way of exporting 'italianità', but also a tool of importing the culture of other countries. In the 'translation balance sheet' of Fascist Italy, one might say that the imports exceeded the exports.⁴²

Translations were, then, a linchpin of the Italian publishing market. Besides being successful with readers, they had several economic advantages for publishers; they were cheaper than original Italian works⁴³ and also safer, since they were already successful in the market. The regime could not ban translations, since the Italian literary system needed foreign literature; Italian readers demanded it and the publishing market required the income generated from it. As Billiani states, translations were 'indispensabili alla sopravvivenza della vita culturale italiana'.⁴⁴ Therefore, the State and the market carried out a 'peaceful negotiation' to save the interests of both sides, at least until 1938.⁴⁵ The regime did not set any specific restriction on translations until then. If they were considered offensive for their content, they were banned or confiscated after publication, just like Italian works.⁴⁶ When the regime embarked upon the war in Ethiopia in 1935-36, the issue of translations came to carry an increasingly nationalistic charge. In

³⁹ Pedullà, *Gli anni del Fascismo*, p. 341.

⁴⁰ Christopher Rundle, *Publishing Translation in Fascist Italy* (Oxford; Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 26.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Rundle talks about 'translation deficit'. In *Publishing Translation*, p. 58.

⁴³ Copyright prices, in fact, were low or set on a small percentage of the translation's sales and translators were paid much less than Italian authors. See *Non c'è tutto nei romanzi: leggere romanzi stranieri in una casa editrice negli anni '30*, ed. by Piero Albonetti (Milan: Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, 1994), pp. 98-99.

⁴⁴ Francesca Billiani, *Culture nazionali e narrazioni straniere* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2007), p. 15.

⁴⁵ On this topic, see Adolfo Scotto di Luzio, *L'appropriazione imperfetta: editori, biblioteche e libri per ragazzi durante il Fascismo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996); Valerio Ferme *Tradurre è tradire* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2002); Billiani, *Culture nazionali*; Rundle, *Publishing Translation*.

⁴⁶ See Rundle, *Publishing Translation*, pp. 20-22.

March 1938, special legislation on translations appeared: publishers were required to send to the Ministry of Popular Culture – which ruled and controlled the entire cultural sphere of the regime – any foreign books they wanted to translate, or drafts of the translations.⁴⁷ In the same year, the so-called ‘bonifica libraria’ decreed the elimination of Jewish and anti-fascist authors from book catalogues.⁴⁸

Through extensive archival research, the aforementioned studies have disclosed the multifaceted behaviour of the regime in the attempt to control the inescapable penetration of foreign literature in Italy. However, these works have described translations strictly as a publishing product, focused on censorship or centred on translations as an instrument of modernity and cultural subversion.⁴⁹ Furthermore, they have concentrated on literature for adults, with only a few studies being made into literature for children above all concerning the vicissitudes of the publication of *Topolino*, a case in point to illustrate the negotiation policies carried out between Mondadori and the regime. To date, only Caterina Sinibaldi’s work has charted translations and rewriting for children under the Fascist regime, as the touchstone of the mediation between hegemonic ideologies and foreign literature.⁵⁰ Likewise, attention has been paid to the translations’ paratexts, in the forms of letter exchanges between translators and publishers, prefaces and footnotes, viewing these as a site of compromise between regime’s requests and publishers’ needs.⁵¹ This study examines paratexts more extensively, broadening this category to incorporate the visual elements, whose

⁴⁷ Rundle, *Publishing Translation*, p. 147. The Ministry of Popular Culture originated from the Press Office of the Prime Minister. Initially, it produced propaganda for the regime and controlled the press; in 1937 it took the name MinCulPop and extended its power over all the cultural production of the regime.

⁴⁸ Rundle, *Publishing Translation*, pp. 167-78. It is worth noticing that the ‘bonifica libraria’ spared foreign authors such as Mark Twain, Louisa May Alcott, E. R. Borroughs. For the consequences that this measure had on catalogues of publications for young readers, see: Giorgio Fabre *L'elenco. Censura fascista, editoria e autori ebrei* (Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998), pp. 304-07.

⁴⁹ Guido Bonsaver, *Censorship and Literature in Fascist Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), Rundle, *Publishing Translation*, Billiani, *Culture nazionali* and Ferme, *Tradurre è tradire*.

⁵⁰ Caterina Sinibaldi, *Between Censorship and Propaganda: The Translation and Rewriting of Children’s Literature during Fascism* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2013).

⁵¹ In this regard, the most widely reported case concerns the publication of *Americana* by Bompiani. On the one hand, in 1941 Alessandro Pavolini, head of MinCulPop, advised Bompiani against the publication of the anthology of American authors commented by Elio Vittorini. On the other hand, he accepted its publication once the anthology was framed by the more critical preface by Emilio Cecchi. For commentary, see Bonsaver, *Censorship and Literature*, pp. 228-30.

relevance as commentary to the texts was acknowledged by Genette.⁵² Crucial components in the marketing of books such as book covers and – when it applies – inside illustrations, have been mostly neglected. Nonetheless, both a close examination of translations targeting adult and young readers and of visual representations used in them, are needed to give a fuller account of a publishing field eager to reach new audiences and forced to keep pace with the growing power of images.

In short, then, a comparison between books targeting at the same time adult and young readers has never been attempted. This omission is notable because Fascist rhetoric and policies blurred the boundaries between childhood and adulthood. Childhood was a priority in the policy of creation of a new Italian identity and, as the ‘newest’ men and women, the regime’s greatest expectations were put on it. Children were considered the embodiment of the future, ‘certezza del presente e promessa del futuro, garanzia di grandezza e di resurrezione’,⁵³ and therefore placed ‘al centro del simbolismo politico e della ritualità pubblica’.⁵⁴ Fascist children were considered little men who wanted to rush into adult life. The young, in fact, yearned to

innestarsi nell’ingranaggio della vita seria, sentirsi investiti di un compito da assolvere, di una responsabilità che impegna le forze della volontà e dell’intelletto per avere quell’importanza che ai loro occhi solo gli adulti hanno.⁵⁵

In order to rebuild Italian identity, Fascism had to regiment the young and their capabilities, and education had a capital role in this project. The regime supported

⁵² However, Genette chose to leave out an examination of the ‘immense continent’ of illustration from his work due to its lack of technical and iconological knowledge ‘to examine this subject in its full scope’. Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 406.

⁵³ Antonio Gibelli, *Il Popolo Bambino* (Turin: Einaudi, 2005), p. 19.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Youth was viewed by Antonio Giubbini as ‘materia pura e duttile per essere plasmata come suggello forte e luminoso’, ‘ricca di potenze guidabili, di entusiasmo da tesaurizzare, di generosità da volgere alla buona causa’. In Antonio Giubbini, *L’Educazione Fascista della Gioventù* (Perugia: Edizione dell’Istituto Fascista di Cultura, 1927), pp. 8, 18.

⁵⁵ Giuseppe Giovanazzi, ‘Gusti letterari dei ragazzi’, in *Convegno nazionale per la letteratura infantile e giovanile* (Bologna: Ente nazionale per le biblioteche popolari e scolastiche, 1939), pp. 13-26 (p. 22).

a complete formation, 'capace di integrare [...] il moschetto con il libro'.⁵⁶ Alongside the militarisation of children, the regime fostered the production of literature aimed at them, and, the publishing market increased publications in order to reach this growing market segment.

Concerning the lack of attention paid by earlier studies to covers and illustrations, the only exception in academic studies seems to be the account of the publishing of the book that marked a turning point in censorship legislation. In 1934, on the eve of war against Ethiopia (1935-36), Rizzoli published the novel *Sambadù amore negro* by Mura, a pseudonym of the writer and journalist Maria Volpi. Overall, the novel deals with the love between an African man and an Italian widow. Although the story ends with the two protagonists becoming aware of their irreconcilable differences, its book cover hints at a potential happy ending, by displaying a black man wearing an elegant suit and holding a white woman in his arms. Suggesting a mixed race relationship, the image sparked Mussolini's negative reaction. He did not read the actual story that, instead, emphasised a clear-cut division between the two races. As Bonsaver posits, 'the Mura case acted as an unexpected catalyst that accelerated and gave an irreversible momentum to his policies'⁵⁷ concerning the centralisation of censorship and the introduction of racial laws. From that moment on, a Circular signed by Mussolini himself required that three copies of each publication be submitted to the local Prefecture before sale or distribution. However, censorship was still intervening only after publication, leaving room for compromises between the publishers and the regime.

2. Criteria for selection of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women*

While this thesis draws upon earlier studies of translation under Fascism, it aims to enrich and elaborate this field of study by analysing two illustrated novels marketed for different audiences at the same time. The choice of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* was motivated by several reasons. They are both extraordinarily popular American novels published within a short time span and belonging to the so-called middlebrow literature. According to Humble, middlebrow literature is a

⁵⁶ Gibelli, *Il Popolo*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ Bonsaver, *Censorship and Literature*, p. 102. A detailed account of the publishing vicissitudes of Mura's novel is at pp. 95-103.

feminine and middle-class literature 'paying a meticulous attention to their shifting desires and self-images, mapping their swings of fortune'.⁵⁸ Embedded in the class structure of a given society, and hence hard to determine as a concept, the definitions of this literature insist on a number of features. Middlebrow literature includes cross-genre books (e.g. women's fiction, as well as children's literature) with a strong educational aim and tends to be devoid of any formal experimentation. This literature seeks emotional identification with the reader and reaches out to a broad public of adults and children.⁵⁹ Both of the novels were repeatedly translated into Italian for different audiences and often published in illustrated editions by several Italian firms during the time frame under examination.

The similarities between the two books are counterbalanced by a series of distinctive traits that allows us to differentiate the discourse on cultural influences on their translations. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a classic with a near continuous history of publishing in Italy since the mid-nineteenth century, and whose editions targeting adults and children share a high percentage of material, in terms of illustrations and actual translations. On the contrary, the innovative approach to girls' education expounded in *Little Women* caused a delay in the Italian reception of the book, which entered the Italian publishing market only in 1908. Publishers of its Italian editions did not use the same translations, or the same illustrations. *Little Women's* discontinuous history of publishing was affected by two events. The first is the aforementioned Italian release in 1934 of its film version directed by George Cukor, starring Katharine Hepburn in the role of Jo March. As a consequence, new editions of Alcott's book were published and film stills started to appear in them. The second is the eclipse of the novel from 1937 to 1940, following on from the criticism levelled at Alcott's work. In November 1938, it was mentioned as a dangerous book in Padellaro's speech at the 'Convegno per la

⁵⁸ Nicola Humble, *The Feminine Middlebrow Novel 1920s to 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 3.

⁵⁹ For the list of features typical of the so-called middlebrow literature, see: Bonciarelli, 'Page Composing'. It is worth noting also that Jamie Harker opens the volume *America the Middlebrow: Women's Novels, Progressivism, and Middlebrow Authorship between the Wars* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press; London: Eurospan, 2007) precisely with the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. On the conception of middlebrow in the Anglo-American culture, see also: *Middlebrow Literary Cultures: the Battle of the Brows, 1920-1960*, ed. by Erica Brown and Mary Grover (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Letteratura Infantile e Giovanile' held in Bologna. Padellaro criticised Alcott for making 'della promiscuità dei sessi un canone educativo',⁶⁰ stretching the limits of freedom beyond the credible yet promising nevertheless a happy ending. Finally, both the novels tackle two different but equally thorny issues for Fascist Italy: race and gender. Their main characters embody two problematic foreign models, namely, Tom a black African American slave and the tomboy Jo the prototype of the independent American woman.

The history of racism during the Fascist regime has been studied extensively. However, the primary focus of these studies has been the Fascist discrimination towards Jewish people, while racism towards black people has tended to be overlooked until recently.⁶¹ Only over the last few years have Italian scholars inverted this tendency; not only have they begun to tackle the importance of the topic, but they have also underlined that the origins of this discrimination are to be found before 1938, that is, the year that saw the promulgation of the racial laws.⁶² In discussing the fiction written during the regime, Riccardo Bonavita highlighted the importance of literary and paraliterary sources for historical research on racism. According to him, these sources

permettono di osservare in dettaglio, anche se nella dimensione virtuale del romanzesco, come opera la mentalità razzista in una certa epoca, sotto forma di sentimenti, pregiudizi, immagini, azioni.⁶³

⁶⁰ Nazareno Padellaro, 'Traduzioni e riduzioni di libri per fanciulli' in *Convegno nazionale*, pp. 35-42 (p. 41). Padellaro was a Fascist educationist, author of *Pedagogia fascista* (1927), *La scuola vivente* (1930), *Scuola e rivoluzione* (1932) and of several textbooks for the primary school. He was one of the signatories of the *Manifesto della razza*.

⁶¹ This phenomenon did not occur only in the Italian context. The Holocaust fostered scholar studies focusing on racism against Jews, as positing a common origin for all racism would inevitably diminish the uniqueness of the Holocaust. See Nicola Labanca, 'Il razzismo coloniale italiano', in *Nel nome della razza: il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870-1945*, ed. by Alberto Burgio (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000), pp. 145-163 (p. 149).

⁶² I am referring here to the work of scholars such as Alberto Burgio and Luciano Casali. Their research started in 1994 in Bologna with an exhibition on the Fascist racism and then continued in further study on this hypothesis and in the creation of a permanent seminar for the history of the Italian racism at the University of Bologna. Preliminary outcomes of this research were published in *Studi sul razzismo italiano*, ed. by Alberto Burgio and Luciano Casali (Bologna: CLUEB, 1996) and then in *Nel nome della razza*.

⁶³ Riccardo Bonavita, 'L'amore ai tempi del razzismo. Discriminazioni di razza e di genere nella narrativa fascista', in *Nel nome della razza*, pp. 491-501 (p. 492).

Uncle Tom's Cabin seems an exemplary case to study in order to highlight how much the history of translation can contribute to the cultural history of a particular nation, and specifically to the history of racism. As the escalation of racism during the Ventennio partially overlapped with the colonial expansion in Africa, we will explore whether translations issued under the regime understood Tom, a Christian slave who never turns against his masters, as the perfect colonized black man of the Fascist empire.⁶⁴ Having been repeatedly published since the 1850s, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* enables scrutiny of the evolution of representation of the racial issue. Italian translations can help to pinpoint the origins of Italian racialism and to highlight continuities between the first two decades of the twentieth century and the Ventennio. The issue of the representation of race is all the more interesting, in the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as the book has been largely illustrated, beginning with its first US edition, and most of the Italian editions are illustrated too.⁶⁵ As Nodelman states, 'words and pictures give us two different insights into the same events'.⁶⁶ His statement refers to picture books for children, but it can be applied also to illustrated editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for adults as Gutjahr, referring to its British editions aimed at an adult readership, maintains that 'commingling different illustrations with Stowe's basic text created dissimilar third texts, which, in turn created new associations and interpretations'.⁶⁷

The character of Jo March is investigated as a model of the womanhood outside gender conventions, as a young woman with a boyish demeanour seeking economic independence, and, in the first part of Alcott's novel, not interested in

⁶⁴ The Italian conquest of Lybia had started in 1912 and was completed by the Fascist regime in 1934; in 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia and issued the first racial law, which banned marriage between Italians and subjects of the AOI (Africa Orientale Italiana). In 1938 the Manifesto della Razza was published. It declared the racist character of the regime and - under point 8 - the need to distinguish explicitly between 'I mediterranei d'Europa (Occidentali) da una parte e gli orientali e gli africani dall'altra', quoted from Giorgio Israel, *Il Fascismo e la Razza* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010), p. 183.

⁶⁵ Representations of black men were spread in different contexts during the Ventennio e.g. commercial advertisements, sketches in the publication of Società Geografica Italiana, colonial photography. On this, see Karen Pinkus, *Bodily Regimes: Italian Advertising under Fascism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); *Immagini e retorica di regime: bozzetti originali di propaganda fascista 1935-1942*, ed. by Achille Brilli (Milan: Motta, 2001).

⁶⁶ Perry Nodelman, *Words about Pictures* (Athens, GA; London: University of Georgia Press), p. 243.

⁶⁷ Paul C. Gutjahr, 'Pictures of Slavery in the United States: Consumerism, Illustration and the Visualization of Stowe's Novel', in *Approaches to Teaching Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. by Elizabeth Ammons and Susan Belasco (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2000), pp. 77-92 (p. 81).

romances. Considered the tomboy *par excellence*, regardless of whether she was treated as a feminist or not, the character of Jo was read as a 'female American myth', a model of the independent and creative American woman.⁶⁸ Alcott's character therefore appears to be the epitome of the American women who, through the cinema 'became symbols of one of the more progressive aspects of US society'⁶⁹ under Fascism. Emerging in American society in the nineteenth century, tomboyism was made up of 'proper hygiene, daily exercise, comfortable clothing, and wholesome nutrition',⁷⁰ and it was envisaged as a way to boost the too fragile health of middle-class white women in order to better prepare them for marriage and motherhood.⁷¹ Tomboyism was therefore a life stage that came to an end before entering adulthood and a return to traditional gender roles. However, it carried in itself dangerous elements that developed after the American civil war. As women needed to replace men at war and started to carry out their jobs and duties, the status of tomboy entered the adulthood stage and tomboys 'began to co-opt elements of masculinity: they bemoaned being born female and having to participate in feminine activities'.⁷² Therefore, while fostered initially as a tool to preserve and develop the nation, tomboyism ended by being considered a threat to the stability of society. Interestingly, however, some tomboyish features seemed necessary to the figure of the ideal mother prescribed in Victorian advice books for

⁶⁸ The character of Jo can be read as a nineteenth-century woman who maintains her individual independence, but also as a character betrayed by her creator who allows her to be married and to lose her fierce independence. Despite these controversial readings, Sicherman's analysis shows that this character became the model for womanhood outside the gender conventions, with which feminist writers such as Simone de Beauvoir and Cynthia Ozick could identify. See Barbara Sicherman, 'Reading *Little Women*: the Many Lives of a Text', in *US History as Women's History*, ed. by Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill, NC: University of Carolina Press: 1995), pp. 245-66. The definition of Jo as female American myth is in Elaine Showalter, *Sister's Choice: Tradition and Change in American Women's Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 42.

⁶⁹ Jane Dunnett, *The 'Mito Americano' and Italian Literary Culture Under Fascism* (Rome: Aracne, 2015), p. 285.

⁷⁰ Michelle Ann Abate, *Tom-boys. A Literary and Cultural History* (Philadelphia, PA: Chesham University Press, 2008), p. xiii.

⁷¹ The term in English dates back to 1553 with the meaning of 'a rude, boisterous or forward boy'. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, its first occurrence is registered in the comedy *Ralph Doister Oister* by Nicholas Udall. At the beginning of the 1600s it came to assume its current meaning. See Abate, *Tom-boys*, p. xiii. Tomboyism was allowed due to the belief that emotional and sexual differences did emerge only after childhood. See Sharon O'Brien, 'Tomboyism and Adolescent Conflict: Three Nineteenth-century Case Studies', in *Woman's Being, Woman's place. Female Identity and Vocation in American History*, ed. by Mary Kelley (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1979), pp. 351-72 (p. 354).

⁷² Abate, *Tom-boys*, p. 30.

women. While the ideal woman had to be dependent and gentle, she needed to be a 'strong, self-reliant, protective caretaker'.⁷³

Caught in this moment of passage between adolescence and adulthood, Jo March is a tomboy, but at the same time shows more traditional feminine attributes, being always inclined to self-sacrifice for the good of her family (it is sufficient to recall the famous episode of her cutting and selling her hair to help her mother financially). As a model of woman at the crossroads between emancipation and tradition, Jo seems to be particularly suitable to revealing possible cultural and ideological elements present in her representation. The model of woman fostered by the Fascist regime shared some tomboyish features. As De Grazia notes, 'as "reproducers of the race" women were to embody traditional values, being stoic, silent and fervid; as patriotic citizens, they were to be modern, that is combative, public and on call'.⁷⁴ In addition to this, in order to guarantee healthy offspring for the nation, girls needed to follow hygiene rules and frequent exercise, though not excessively so, as this could compromise womanliness.⁷⁵ Starting from the aforementioned work of De Grazia, literature on gender and Fascism has started to chart the way in which women experienced the Fascist rule and likewise the multiple models of femininity circulating during Italian Fascism.⁷⁶ Despite the restrictive rules that limited women's access to the job market, banned them from public offices and attempted instead to redirect them exclusively to their role as mothers, the regime could not thwart the process of emancipation started during WWI, when women had entered the labour force in large numbers. What is more, women had more chances to meet outside the house, participating in Fascist or Catholic associations, and were exposed to foreign models of womanhood mostly through cinema and magazines. In this respect, the examination of the

⁷³ Sicherman, 'Reading *Little Women*', p. 352.

⁷⁴ Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women* (London: University of California Press, 1992), p. 147. De Grazia shows also that Mussolini encouraged the tomboyish behaviour of his daughter Edda, one of the first women in Italy to wear trousers and to drive a car.

⁷⁵ In 1923 the Fascist government introduced physical education as a compulsory subject in school for boys and girls. However, girls doing sport at a competitive level raised criticisms about the risk of becoming too masculine. See Rosella Isadori Frasca, 'L'educazione fisica e sportiva, e la "preparazione materna"', in *La corporazione delle donne*, ed. by Marina Addis Saba (Florence: Vallecchi, 1988), pp. 273-304 (pp. 276-77, 297).

⁷⁶ I am referring here in particular to *Mothers of Invention: Women, Italian Fascism, and Culture*, ed. by Pickering-Iazzi (Minneapolis, MN; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) and Robin Pickering Iazzi, *Politics of the Visible: Writing Women, Culture and Fascism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

representation of Jo March is also entangled with her cinematographic representation. In the Italian press the film was prominently marketed through the unconventional persona of Katharine Hepburn, and this opens the discourse to the reception of the model of American beauty conveyed through the stardom system.⁷⁷

Due to their similarities, then, the two case studies offer a coherent sample to analyse and yet they also offer us sufficient differences to allow insight into particularly relevant aspects of Italian Fascism. Both case studies probe the intricate relationship between Fascist Italy and the USA. As Emilio Gentile maintained, the discordant images of America have to be framed within Fascist attitudes towards modernity. American modernity was negatively associated with individualism, materialism, ruthless capitalism and racism, but at once it contained features pertaining to 'good modernity' pursued by Italian Fascism, such as 'dynamism, desire for renewal and realization, pragmatic spirit, will to conquer and to ascend'.⁷⁸

Two criteria have been followed in order to choose passages examined in the translation analysis. The first choice has been thematic. With regard to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, passages from chap. 4 'An Evening in Uncle Tom's Cabin', chap. 16 'Evangeline', chap. 19 'Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions-Continued' and chap. 22 'The grass withereth – the flower fadeth' will be analysed. All of them are relevant to understand how much translation history can contribute to the deepening of the debate on the origins of Italian racism. They centre on Tom's character traits, on his physical description and on his relationship with the two white children he meets in the story, George and Eva, respectively the son and daughter of his two masters. This choice foregrounds episodes of black literacy since these particular moments highlight the superiority of white children with respect to an adult black man. As Wood underlined, Tom's literacy 'is, from the

⁷⁷ Fundamental studies on this topic are: Ruth Ben Ghat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 2001); Stephen Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (London; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream Factory: Film Stardom in Fascist Italy* (New York: Berghan Books, 2013).

⁷⁸ Emilio Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism and Fascism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), p. 168. On the representations of the USA during the Ventennio, see in particular chap. 9, 'Impending modernity: Fascism and the ambivalent image of the United States' (pp. 161-79).

start, carefully conditioned'.⁷⁹ Tom learns to read thanks to George and Eva, but 'unlike a child he will never master language'.⁸⁰

Concerning *Little Women*, sections from the first part of the novel have been chosen. This was considered more relevant than the second part of the novel, as the aim of the selection was to give prominence to the translation of Jo's non-conformist features. In the sequel, Jo eventually abides by a more traditional model of womanhood as her tumultuousness is somewhat tamed by the encounter with Prof. Bhaer, who becomes her husband and advisor on her career as a writer. The analysis takes into account fragments from chap. 1 'Playing Pilgrims', chap. 3 'The Laurence Boy', chap. 4 'Burdens', chap. 8 'Jo meets Apollyon' and chap. 14 'Secrets'. All of them contain relevant episodes that emphasise Jo's pivotal and more emancipated personality traits: her passion for reading, regret for her female condition, intolerance of good manners, desire to become a writer and gain economic independence, and difficulty in controlling her anger.

The second criterion governing the selection of passages in the translations is related to questions of translational norms: here the concern is to ascertain whether different sets of norms operate simultaneously in translations addressing different readerships. The examination considers chapter 4 of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because it presents culture-specific terms, more likely to be subject to domestication. The chapter depicts the cabin where Tom and his family live. Several proper names of characters and various types of plants that decorate the house are mentioned. Then, this chapter dwells on the variety of dishes prepared by Chloe, Tom's wife, renowned as a talented cook. The chapter ends when a religious meeting that takes place in the cabin during which the attendees sing religious hymns. The same rationale has been applied to the case of *Little Women*. In addition to realia, book titles and allusions to fictional characters have been singled out in the aforementioned chapters selected here. Other than revealing cultural impingements, their rendering substantiates the discourse around the targeting to different readers.

⁷⁹ Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 186.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

3. Thesis outline

The thesis is organised in two parallel parts each one divided in three chapters. The first chapters in each section investigate the publication history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* from their first publication dates, respectively 1852 and 1868, to 1945. These opening chapters are divided into three sections each: contextualization of the book's reception in the USA; the history of publishing in UK and France; and the history of publishing in Italy.⁸¹

The second chapters tackle the role that illustrations play in conveying particular aspects of books and in contributing to the construction of their meaning by the readers, irrespective of the use of the same or different paratextual elements. The material relevant to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* focuses on the representation of race through the analysis of book covers and advertisements displayed in all the selected editions and on interior illustrations of three pairs of specific editions: Bemporad 1920 – Nerbini 1928, Sonzogno 1930 – Hoepli 1940 and Paravia – Salani 1940. These first four editions have been selected since they are editions for adults and children that share common paratextual elements. The last two show how these two editions for children, although published in the same year, feature different paratextual elements. Secondary aims of this chapter are to pinpoint the national and translational circulation of book illustrations and the reuse of illustrations produced in the nineteenth century by twentieth-century publishing firms.

The case of *Little Women* deals with two different kinds of visual representations that were used to convey Alcott's novel to its Italian audience: book illustrations and George Cukor's film. The chapter shows how illustrations used in the Italian editions are influenced by the American and English tradition of images decorating Alcott's novel, but, at the same time, it explores, how they stand out for the interpretation given to some drawings and significant omissions related to the representation of gender. It tackles the consequences that the emerging medium of cinema had on the history of publishing of Alcott's book. Ultimately, the history of the visual representation of *Little Women* in Italy can be charted in relation to the rivalry between illustrations coming from the tradition of mostly

⁸¹ I am not considering the history of publishing of the two novels in Germany, as I lack the linguistic skills to study editions published in German language.

American editions of *Little Women* and images deriving from the modern medium of cinema. The analysis of the reception of Cukor's film in Italy through newspapers and magazines' reviews reveals how much the press capitalised on Hepburn's persona and widens the perspective to the transnational and transmedial circulation of film stills.

The last chapters of both parts will survey translational norms in order to highlight points of convergence or divergence between editions targeting a young and an adult audience. In addition, continuities and discontinuities between the pre-Fascist and the Fascist period concerning translations will be examined. These chapters also study the racial and gender issues through the translation analysis of selected passages from the corpus, focusing on Tom and Jo's characters as indicated above. On the one hand, the analysis of translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin's* will centre on the representation of the Other. It will aim to show how much translation history can contribute to the deepening of the debate on the origins of Italian racism. On the other hand, the enquiry into translations of *Little Women* will centre on Jo's depiction. It will chart translational behaviours with respect to the representation of feminine features allegedly problematic for the time frame under examination.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN AND THE HISTORY OF PUBLISHING

1.1 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the USA: contextualisation of the book

1852, the year in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin*⁸² was first published, marks an important date in the history of publishing in the USA. Harriet Beecher Stowe, born in 1811 in Connecticut into one of the most famous American families of the age,⁸³ was by then a wife and mother of six children. She had moved two years earlier to Maine from Ohio, following her husband, Calvin Stowe, who had been appointed professor at Bowdoin College in Brunswick. Until then Beecher Stowe had written and published only a few stories;⁸⁴ mostly she had taught in seminaries for ladies, established by her sister Catherine, first in Connecticut and later in Cincinnati, Ohio, where all the family had moved in 1832 after their father became president of the Lane Theological seminary. Harriet remained there until 1852, and the years that she spent in Ohio, as Ammons puts it

brought her into contact with poverty, physical pain, intense mental anguish, exhaustion, geographical dislocation, cholera epidemics, race riots, and the depressing reality of black freedmen living only a river's width from slavery. They brought her into contact, in short, with the material of her most famous novel.⁸⁵

⁸² Hereafter cited as UTC in notes and text.

⁸³ Beecher Stowe's father, Lyman Beecher, was a Presbyterian minister, who took a neutral position in the question of slavery. He also belonged to the American Colonisation Society, which promoted the emigration of free blacks to Liberia. Her brother Harry was a preacher and her sister Catherine a domestic ideologist. Information about the Beecher family can be found in Susan Belasco, *The Writing, Reception and Reputation of Uncle Tom's Cabin* in *Approaches to Teaching Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. by Elizabeth Ammons and Susan Belasco (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2000), pp. 21-36 (p. 25); Elizabeth Ammons, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: a Casebook* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 6 and by the same author, *Critical Essays on Harriet Beecher Stowe*, ed. by Elizabeth Ammons (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1980), p. xiii.

⁸⁴ Collected in *The Mayflower, or, Sketches of Scenes and Characters among the Descendants of the Pilgrims* (New York: Harper, 1843).

⁸⁵ Ammons, *Critical essays*, p. xiv.

Cincinnati, because of its geographical position, was the scene of a particularly harsh struggle between pro- and anti-slavery factions. It was the last city in the free state of Ohio, divided from the slave-holding state of Kentucky only by the Ohio River. On the Kentucky side there were slave catchers and 'armed whites hunting down fugitives and kidnapping free blacks to sell to the South',⁸⁶ while on the Ohio side abolitionists tried to help escaped slaves to reach Canada following the so-called Underground Railroad.

The year of Beecher Stowe's move to Maine, 1850, coincided with the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act. According to this law, all free people, both from the North and from the South, were required to turn in escaped slaves to slave agents. As a consequence of this law, inhabitants of Northern states were for the first time directly involved in the slavery issue. Beecher Stowe felt personally involved, and in 1851 she wrote to Gamaliel Bailey, editor of *The National Era*, an anti-slavery newspaper to which she was contributing at the time:

Up to this year I have always felt that I had no particular call to meddle with this subject, and I dreaded to expose even my own mind to the full force of its exciting power. But I feel now that the time is come when even a woman or a child who can speak a word for freedom and humanity is bound to speak [...]. My vocation is simply that of *painter*, and my object will be to hold up in the most lifelike and graphic manner possible Slavery, its reverses, changes, and the negro character, which I have had ample opportunities for studying. There is no arguing with *pictures*, and everybody is impressed by them, whether they mean to be or not.⁸⁷

UTC began to appear in that newspaper in 1851, in a serialised version.⁸⁸ The plot consists of two parallel stories. The most famous one concerns Tom, a

⁸⁶ Ammons, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 6.

⁸⁷ Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Letter to Gamaliel Bailey*, 9 March 1851 quoted in Michael Winship, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: History of the Book in the Nineteenth-century United States* (2007) available at <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/interpret/exhibits/winship/winship.html>> [accessed July 2014].

⁸⁸ Beecher Stowe did not conceive the entire story before beginning the serialization, nor did she have in mind the complete cast of characters. Serialisation, in general, entails particular features such as an ongoing dialogue with readers, which can lead to changes in the narration. Even the subtitle of UTC changed, probably influenced by the serialisation. The original subtitle was *The Man that Was a Thing*, while the second was *Life Among the Lowly*. This last is the version that appears in the published edition. For other features of the serialised version of UTC, see: Susan Belasco Smith, 'Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*', in *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-century*

Christian slave from Kentucky who, due to the economic problems of his master, is sold to a slave trader. Tom and the slave trader embark on a ship where they travel with Augustine St. Clare, a Southern landowner, and his little daughter Evangeline, who soon grows fond of Tom. When Eva, as everyone used to call her, falls into the water due to a sudden movement of the boat, Tom saves her. Grateful to Tom and granting Eva's wish, St. Clare buys him. After St. Clare's death, an evil slaveholder takes Tom to a cotton plantation where he is beaten to death. Before dying, however, he forgives his torturers. The second, parallel story concerns the vicissitudes of three mulattos who escape from Kentucky, Eliza, George and their child. The family eventually manage to reach the free state of Canada, and this produces a form of happy ending.

The book achieved extraordinary success, but only after the appearance of the volume edition. A small publisher from Boston, John P. Jewett and Company, published it in 1852. Since the publisher considered the book as a strong antislavery document,⁸⁹ it took a risk with publishing, expecting large sales. Jewett also decided to illustrate the book with seven illustrations, 'hoping to mitigate the risk by making the volume more attractive to potential buyers'.⁹⁰ The sales figures for this first edition are significant. The book sold over 10,000 copies in the first week and 300,000 during the first year. In just one year, 1852, 120 editions of the book were produced in the USA.⁹¹ As a result, it has been described as the 'runaway best-seller of the nineteenth century'.⁹²

America, ed. by Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1995), pp. 69-89 (p. 73-74).

⁸⁹ Parfait, *The Publishing*, p. 34. Another publisher, Phillips-Sampson, rejected the book because he thought that it would not sell enough to pay for publication expenses. The story of UTC, in fact, was becoming longer and longer in the serialised version and this made the book more expensive to produce. In *The Publishing History*, pp. 28-32.

⁹⁰ Gutjahr, *Pictures of Slavery*, p. 78.

⁹¹ Ammons, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 8.

⁹² Belasco, *The Writing, Reception*, p. 31. Parfait considers the book as a best-seller *avant la lettre* (Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 67). The term *best seller*, in fact, was first recorded in 1902. Sutherland also highlights the importance of UTC as the first American novel to be a runaway bestseller in Britain and to forge 'the link between the American bestseller and the American social conscience'. In John Sutherland, *Bestseller a very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 17, 45.

The stunning success of Beecher Stowe's book partly relied on the controversy that had arisen about its theme, as foreseen by Jewett.⁹³ Writing in 1980, Elizabeth Ammons stated that

Few American authors have generated comparable controversy. The quality of Stowe's art, her mind, her moral vision – every dimension of her character and work – has drawn heated and simultaneous praise and criticism for over a century.⁹⁴

Everyone had an opinion about Harriet Beecher Stowe. Most of the critical interventions about her and her book until the 1930s were 'biographical in nature or sentimental in approach'.⁹⁵ On the one hand, the author was described by George Sand as a 'saint', defined by Lincoln as 'the little lady who started the great war', or as a 'prophet and a priestess' by Paul Laurence Dunbar. On the other hand, she was accused of being a liar⁹⁶ in depicting the conditions of black slaves, and – according to Kirkham – was portrayed in most literary histories only as 'a careless craftsman who wrote without revision, without knowledge of her subject, and without artistic sensibility'.⁹⁷ Accusations came inevitably from Southerners, but also from abolitionists who considered the character of Tom, as an emblem of black people, too forgiving and submissive.⁹⁸

The popularity of the book was also the result of three further factors: what Susan Belasco calls the 'emerging and lucrative American literary marketplace',⁹⁹ the advertising campaign organized by Jewett, the promotion carried out by Beecher Stowe herself and the copious stage adaptations of the novel.¹⁰⁰ In the

⁹³ Jewett was sure the book would cause debate, but he decided to omit every reference to the antislavery issue from the book's advertisements. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 48.

⁹⁴ Ammons, *Critical Essays*, p. xiii.

⁹⁵ Edwin Bruce Kirkham, *The Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), p. vii.

⁹⁶ Kirkham, *The Building of Uncle Tom's*, p. xi. In response to this accusation Beecher Stowe wrote in 1853 *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a collection of her sources that was supposed to prove the truth of the episodes and characters in the book.

⁹⁷ Kirkham, *The Building of Uncle Tom's*, p. vii.

⁹⁸ Ammons, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, pp. 3-5.

⁹⁹ Belasco, *The Writing Reception*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ The chapter centres on the publishing history of the book and does not investigate further on UTC stage adaptations. Hundreds of Tom companies were staging simultaneously and from 1852 – the date of the first stage show by George Aiken – to 1912 there were 250,000 productions. In Frick, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 141.

1850s, the US publishing market was expanding with a population growth and the rise of literacy. Technological developments in paper making, the advance of the railroads and consequent cheaper postal routes led to a wider distribution for published material, which could now reach new prospective consumers.¹⁰¹ In this new marketplace, Jewett carried out a steady advertising campaign for UTC in northern newspapers.¹⁰² He printed handbills and posters, and also commissioned a poem based on the character of Eva, which was to be the first of a long series of by-products linked to the book.¹⁰³ These marketing tools already existed, but never before had they been used all at the same time, as on this occasion. The technological improvements that were leading the US publishing market towards mass production were employed not only to accelerate the publication of the book itself, but also to boost its sales. Advertisements for the book stressed that new paper machines were at work to bind books as fast as possible and that three presses were printing copies night and day.¹⁰⁴

Beecher Stowe herself significantly contributed to the marketing of her book, writing different prefaces for various editions. Authorial prefaces serve a double function: ensuring that the book is read, while also providing guidelines for its interpretation.¹⁰⁵ Beecher Stowe wrote a preface for the first American edition and then four prefaces for European readers of her book: one for the British edition, published in London in 1852, another for the German one, issued in Leipzig in 1852, and then two prefaces for two French editions published in Paris in 1853.¹⁰⁶ The preface addressed to American audiences tried to appeal mostly to Southerners. In order to do this, Beecher Stowe stressed the injustice of slavery

¹⁰¹ Belasco, *The Writing, Reception*, p. 22.

¹⁰² Before the book launch Jewett sent to northern newspapers a specific advertisement for UTC. He purposely chose to base his campaign on the repetition of advertisements which iterated the message that the book had long been expected and that stressed the manifold places where the novel could be purchased. Words such as 'great story', 'handsome volumes' and 'six well-executed engravings' were used to market the book, while sales figures began to appear on the title page of the editions. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 48-58.

¹⁰³ After this, other by-products such as songs, visual art works (e.g. three dioramas) and different objects for adults (commemorative plates, silver spoons with a portrait of Beecher Stowe) and for children (Uncle Tom and little Eva card games) followed. See Stephen A. Hirsch, 'Uncle Tomitudes: the Popular Reaction to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*', *Studies in American Renaissance 1978*, ed. by Joel Myerson (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1978), pp. 303-30 (pp. 311-18).

¹⁰⁴ Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 197.

¹⁰⁶ For more details of the history of the two French editions' prefaces and on UTC prefaces in general, see: Christopher G. Diller, 'The Prefaces to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*', *The New England Quarterly*, 77.4 (2004), 619-45 (pp. 639-44).

seen from a Christian point of view and claimed that Southerners were her ideal readers, since they knew slavery better than others and therefore could recognize the truth of her story.

While the original preface emphasised the veracity of the story, subsequent ones, in particular the British and the German, aimed to respond to some of the criticisms levelled at the book.¹⁰⁷ The two French prefaces also referred to the previous two. The first one stressed most of all the fact that France, like England, had abolished slavery in the colonies, thereby placing the 'American cause of abolitionism in an ideology of democratic revolution'.¹⁰⁸ Although religious references informed all the prefaces, they were particularly frequent in the second French preface, where Tom is described as 'a Puritan *exemplum* who transcends the political prison house of the body'.¹⁰⁹

Beecher Stowe pursued two complementary aims with her prefaces. On the one hand, she ensured that the book was read as an antislavery document, and she expressed the hope that readers would contribute actively to the fight against slavery:

She called upon English public opinion to exercise an influence over the United States. [...] She expected those Europeans who intended to migrate to the new world to "come prepared heart, hand, and vote against the institution of slavery". French readers were assigned the more indirect – but no less important – role of uniting their prayers to those of Americans in order to bring about the downfall of slavery.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ For the different functions of the original preface and the later prefaces, see: Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 198, 239.

In the preface to the British edition, Beecher Stowe responded to a criticism expressed by a number of English commentators about a disparaging opinion on England expressed by one of UTC's characters. Augustine St. Clare – one of Tom's masters, presented in an indulgent way by the author – stated that slaves were not worse off than English workers. Beecher Stowe defended herself remembering that Dickens stated the same without arousing any debate and that Southerners were usually doing this kind of comparison in order to make an apology for slavery. In the German edition's preface Beecher Stowe faced the quite harsh review published on September 1852 in the *Times*. The review called into question the excessive sentimentalism of the book and the incredible virtues of Tom's character. The author responded claiming that Tom's character was a literary type, namely a mix of realistic and fictional features. In supporting this statement, she reported the judge Parker Upshur's will, who confirmed the history of Tom. See Diller, 'The Prefaces', 624-27 and 633-36.

¹⁰⁸ Diller, 'The Prefaces', 640.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. This second preface appeared in Leon Pilatte's translation published by Victor Lecou in Paris in 1853.

¹¹⁰ Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 65-66.

On the other, she provided the book with an ethical value that went beyond the historical urgency from which it took its origin:

The deliberate targeting of specific audiences, the universal and timeless reading guide demonstrate that Stowe intended to play a part in the promotion of the book both in the United States and abroad, and ensure its survival when the institution which had caused its inception would finally belong to the past.¹¹¹

1.2 History of publishing in the USA until 1945

As in the 1850s the US reading public expanded considerably, the US publishers realised an attentive marketing strategy in order to target different readership. The three editions issued by Jewett in 1852 already 'took into account the fragmentation of the American public, and the publisher provided a variegated public with a variety of formats'.¹¹² This first edition was a two-volume edition, whose prices ranged from \$1 to \$2.50. It appeared in three different bindings and targeted the middle class.¹¹³ At the end of 1852 Jewett brought out both a cheap and a luxury one-volume edition, thus providing the novel also for lower and upper middle class audiences.¹¹⁴ No new edition of the book was published for the following ten years,¹¹⁵ but between 1862 and 1870s UTC was reprinted each year.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 65-66.

¹¹² Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 69. Parfait's book is the more recent and more detailed study of the publishing history in the USA of UTC. For a complete list of American editions of Beecher Stowe's book see in particular pp. 212-24. Publishers that owned the copyright immediately marketed the book for different segments also under the pressure of the expiration of the copyright in 1893. They envisaged reaching as many readers as possible before competition between publishers became fiercer.

¹¹³ It has to be considered that the average wage for a white man was \$1 a day. The paper binding had the price of \$1, the cloth one - available in different colours - of \$1.50 and the cloth full gilt \$2. Publishing a book in different formats was not unusual by then, since also works of Washington Irving and Charles Dickens went out in various formats. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 69-71.

¹¹⁴ The cheap edition, called the "Edition for the million" as stated on the front cover, went out when the sales of the previous editions had peaked. Its price was 37½ cents. Prices for the luxury edition, illustrated with 100 original designs, were instead of \$2.50, \$3.50 and \$5 depending again on the binding. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 76-9.

¹¹⁵ On the one hand, Jewett had saturated the market with his aggressive marketing campaign; on the other, in 1853 Beecher Stowe's new book, *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, drew the attention of readers to UTC. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 100-03.

¹¹⁶ Beecher Stowe's new publisher, Ticknor and Fields, issued the 1862 edition and reprinted it until 1868. It chose the less expensive format of two volumes bound into one with a cloth cover.

At the end of 1878, Osgood, Houghton and Mifflin published a luxurious 'Holiday Edition' for Christmas.¹¹⁷ This edition was reissued in 1879 in a cheaper and smaller version, priced \$2 and available also in Great Britain.¹¹⁸ In 1880, Osgood withdrew from the publishing house and in 1885, when the sales of the 1878 and 1879 editions began to slow down, Oughton and Mifflin issued a \$1 new edition, the so-called 'Popular edition'. These three different editions (holiday, cheaper and popular) were reprinted almost every year until the end of the 1880s. However, at the beginning of the new decade, Houghton and Mifflin decided to bring out new, different editions. This was a move designed to respond to the competition, since the copyright on Stowe's book was about to expire in 1893. Once again, the editions were aimed at different segments of the market. The New Holiday illustrated edition was issued in 1891 and its price was \$10. In 1892 the Universal edition was published at 25 cents in paper and 50 cents in cloth. The next year the Brunswick edition went out at 30 cents.¹¹⁹

The extreme popularity of UTC in the USA extended to the period 1893-1930, when a large number of editions were published, especially after the death of Beecher Stowe in 1896. This event led to the publication of different memorial editions, generally aimed at a highbrow audience. Popular editions continued to be published as well.¹²⁰ The book was never out of print between 1862 and 1959, yet during the period 1930-1959 fewer than ten editions were published.¹²¹ The reasons for this decline in popularity are to be found in the general economic crisis which started in 1929 and which affected the publishing market, but also, more specifically, in a diminishing interest in Beecher Stowe. Since its publication, sales of the book kept rising in spite of negative opinions among critics. Criticisms of the

Fields, Osgood & co. (1868-1871) and Osgood (1871-1878) issued later reprints. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 117-18.

¹¹⁷ Its first price was \$3.50, but it could reach by the \$8 depending on the bindings. Illustrations of this edition were taken by the English edition Cooke. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 123, 129.

¹¹⁸ It was published in Great Britain in 1880 by Routledge, by Hogg in 1891 and by Cassel in 1896. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 131.

¹¹⁹ See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 137.

¹²⁰ See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 153-64.

¹²¹ Few editions were published already in the 1920s and one of the two editions of 1929 was an abridged version, just a pretext for the illustrations of the American painter James Daugherty. Despite this, even in these years the book strengthened its status of classic for adults and for children. In 1938 the Limited Editions Club included UTC in the series of world classics and in 1944 Gilberton published the book in its collection of Classics illustrated for young people. See Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 177-78.

book in the nineteenth century focused on two opposite points: while northern critics blamed the excessive sentimentality of the book, Southerners considered the representation of the slavery too cruel. Interestingly, however, during the first decades of the twentieth century the two opinions became closer. In the north the widespread opinion was that slavery was depicted properly, but Beecher Stowe had too high opinion of black people. In the south, Beecher Stowe's good intentions were praised, but blame for a wrong representation of slavery persisted.¹²² From the 1930s, however, UTC was dismissed as 'passé'¹²³ and Beecher Stowe was considered an 'old-fashioned didactic'.¹²⁴ The most serious accusation against the book was that of being one of the key sources of the racism against the black population affecting US modern society.¹²⁵ In the 1920s, in fact, the epithet 'Uncle Tom' came to describe 'a class of blacks who lack self-respect and courage'.¹²⁶ This new meaning lasted until the aftermath of WWII, when this character was 'frequently condemned as a servile, obsequious black who had been unwilling to take his own part or that of any other blacks'.¹²⁷

From the beginning, young readers played an important role in the history of publishing of UTC. Already during the serialisation of the book for *The National Era*, the letters that readers sent to the newspaper indicate that the story appealed mostly to the young and to women. Additionally, Beecher Stowe declared that children were meant to be the first audience of her book. In her farewell to readers, following the last instalment in the newspaper, she addressed them directly. The author hoped that her young readers would contribute to the end of

¹²² See Thomas Gossett, *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist Press, 1985), pp. 339-55. For other criticisms levelled at the book during the period 1930-1959, see Parfait, *The Publishing History*, pp. 182-84.

¹²³ Parfait, *The Publishing History*, p. 181.

¹²⁴ David S. Reynolds, *Mightier than the Sword: Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Battle for America* (New York; London: Norton & Co., 2012), p. 258. After the publication of UTC, the critics underlined its didactic dimension. *The Spectator* of 25 September 1852 reported the following opinion: 'Uncle Tom's Cabin would still be very remarkable as an artistic production, whether considered merely as a romance or as a didactic fiction'. In Audrey Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 11.

¹²⁵ Joseph Chamberlain Furnas, *Goodbye to Uncle Tom* (New York: Wm. Sloane Associates, 1956).

¹²⁶ The expression was used with this meaning by Marcus Garvey, a militant of the Universal Negro Improvement Association during the convention of 1920. He stated 'The Uncle Tom Nigger has got to go and his place must be taken by the new leader of the Negro race'. In Gossett, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 365.

¹²⁷ Gossett, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 388.

the 'foolish and unchristian prejudice against people, merely on account of their complexion'.¹²⁸

The first two editions explicitly targeting children appeared in 1853 (the first year in which no new edition for an adult readership was published). These were *Pictures and Stories from Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a 30-page, paper-back illustrated edition sold for 12½ cents, and an abridged edition, *A Peep into Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Both were published by Jewett, though the second was originally produced in Great Britain and then also published in the USA.¹²⁹ Three further abridged editions for children appeared in the nineteenth century.¹³⁰

The canonisation of UTC as a book for children in the USA is, however, a twentieth-century phenomenon. The expiry of the copyright and the death of Beecher Stowe certainly played an important role in the growth of the number of editions for a young audience. However, this growth has to be framed within the general increase of importance attributed to literature for children in the USA. The key role of this kind of literature was already recognized during the 1830s and 1840s, but from the 1890s onwards it became a great source of income for the publishing industry. It was in this context that UTC became a classic for young readers.¹³¹ Between 1900 and 1929, different publishers in the USA produced 17 illustrated editions for young audiences.¹³² These were issued not only by publishing houses, which specialised in books for children (e.g. McLoughlin Brothers), but also by general publishers. Despite being less numerous than the

¹²⁸ Beecher Stowe, 'Farewell to the readers', *The National Era*, 1 April 1852.

¹²⁹ This is emblematic of the close relationship that USA and Great Britain had at the end of the nineteenth century. It is probable that the author allowed the circulation of this edition, since Beecher Stowe's American editor issued this edition, <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/childrn/cbhp.html>> [accessed July 2014].

¹³⁰ *Little Eva. The Flower of the South* (New York: Phil. J. Cozans, c. 1853), *Cassy, or Early Trials* (New York: Phil. J. Cozans, c. 1853), *Topsy* (New York: McLoughlin Brothers, c. 1890).

¹³¹ Hochman, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, pp. 205-09. Hochman notes that the improvement of economic conditions of American society led to a more widespread habit of reading for adults, as well as for children. It is also worth noting that, just around 20 years later, in 1913, literature for children was already one of the genres included in the bestsellers' list issued by the *Publishers' Weekly*. See Sutherland, *Bestseller*, p. 35.

¹³² The most complete list of editions for children can be found at <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/childrn/cbhp.html>> [accessed July 2014]. Research on the Library of Congress website and on Worldcat did not add any other edition to this list. The focus here is not on the several interpretations shown in the US editions for adults and for children. Hochman highlights in depth how UTC was adapted for several ends and readership, focusing on the period 1851-1911. In particular, in the aftermath of the Civil War (1861-65), the racial discrimination justified by the segregation laws (1876-1965) allowed racial interpretations of the book (e.g. the above mentioned Houghton, Mifflin & Co. edition for adults issued in 1892 and the edition for children *Young Folks Uncle Tom's Cabin* of 1910). See Hochman, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

editions aimed at the adult readership, versions for children show the same features of the well-developed adult publishing market already outlined above. In some cases, single publishing houses produced more than one version for children at the same time (the versions of UTC issued by McLoughlin Brothers in 1900, were published only occasionally in the series *Young Folks Standard Library*; sometimes in New York and some others in Springfield). Editions were priced differently according to format and binding (e.g. the lavish edition *Uncle Tom's Cabin for Children*, Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company, 1908; and the low price *Uncle Tom's Cabin Abridged for Use in Schools*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, c. 1920). Besides, versions for children appeared as individual volumes, as in series (e.g. *Young Folks Uncle Tom's Cabin*, New York: H. M. Caldwell Company, 1910 in the series 'Six to sixteen'; *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Life among the Lowly*, New York: Coward-McCann, 1929 in the series 'Adventure books for boys and girls').

1.3 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the UK and France (1852-1945)

As we have seen, Beecher Stowe explicitly addressed her European readers through prefaces to British, French and German editions of the novel. Europe rewarded the writer for her attention, turning UTC into a huge editorial success. The instant reception of UTC in the UK and France was largely due to the emotional character of the book and to its antislavery theme.¹³³ The success of the novel in these two countries shares some common features. Firstly, the US refusal to sign the international copyright law in 1891 allowed British and French publishers to produce editions of the book free from copyright fees. Secondly, publishers in both countries used the same commercial strategies for marketing the book: they advertised sales figures in newspapers and on the book's covers to

¹³³ UTC is considered as a book 'plein de larmes et plein de feu' with a 'religieux et vengeur' power. In John Lemoine, 'Variétés. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* - la *Cabane du père Tom* - ou la *Vie des nègres en Amérique*', *Le Journal des Débats*, 20 octobre 1852 quoted in Claire Parfait, 'Un succès américain' en France: La Case de l'Oncle Tom', *E-rea*, 7.2 (2010) available at <<http://erea.revues.org/981>> [accessed July 2014].

I will focus here only on British, French and Italian reception, but the influence of UTC extended as far as Russia. In that country, the book was banned until 1857 for its 'incendiary content' and then put back in circulation by Alexander II, the abolisher of slavery. In the period between 1857 and 1917 UTC was published in 67 Russian editions. In Reynolds, *Mightier than the Sword*, p. 173.

boost new sales, and they commercialised by-products. Thirdly, UTC adaptations were performed on the British and French stages and were very successful.¹³⁴

Despite the great success gained by UTC in these two countries, scholars have focused on the early reception of the book, thus leaving a noticeable gap in its history of publishing.¹³⁵ The relationship between UTC reception in the UK and the USA was particularly close in the mid-nineteenth century. This was the result of historical, commercial and cultural links between the two countries. With UTC Beecher Stowe aimed to open up 'antislavery to a broader discussion in both America and Britain',¹³⁶ and the UK was the first European country to invite her to talk about her book in a series of lectures. From May 1852, when UTC first arrived in the UK, several editions flourished and, in the first year, the book sold more copies in Britain than in the USA.¹³⁷ Critical appraisals of the book were mostly positive, but they focused mainly on the antislavery issue. Britons used the book as a tool to criticise the USA and to reinforce a sense of British superiority. Britain had abolished slavery in 1833, and this historical fact was noted in the British prefaces of UTC in order to underline the backwardness of the USA.¹³⁸

During the mid-nineteenth century the UK was experiencing the consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Technological and transport improvements affected all economic sectors, including publishing. Improvements

¹³⁴ The most successful French adaptation for the stage was published in 1854 by Dumanoir et D'Ennery. See Parfait, 'Un succès américain'. Regarding the UK, it is worth noting that the expression 'Tom-mania', which was coined to describe the incredible phenomenon that UTC became, appeared on the British newspaper *The Spectator*. Besides, it is remarkable that no fewer than 20 different representations were staged in London alone in the period 1852-1855. See Frick, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 22.

¹³⁵ For the reception in the UK see Wood, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in England', Fisch, *American Slaves* and *Transatlantic Stowe*. Two contributions tackled specifically the French reception of the book: Edith Lucas, *La Littérature anti-esclavagiste au dix-neuvième siècle: étude sur Madame Beecher Stowe et son influence en France* (Paris: Boccard, 1930) and the more recent Parfait, 'Un succès américain'.

¹³⁶ In Donald Ross, 'Sunny Memories and Serious Proposals', in *Transatlantic Stowe*, pp. 131-46 (p. 131). In 1853 the Glasgow Ladies' Antislavery Society and the Glasgow Female New Association for the Abolition of Slavery invited Beecher Stowe to talk about her book. Two other trips to Europe followed, in 1856 and in 1859. These journeys 'made Stowe herself an international phenomenon'. In Denise Kohn, Sarah Meer, Emily B. Todd, 'Reading Stowe as a Transatlantic Writer', in *Transatlantic Stowe*, pp. i-xxi (p. xxiv).

¹³⁷ By the spring of 1853 one and a half million copies of UTC have been sold in Great Britain, approximately three times the number sold in the USA. See Gutjahr, *Picture of Slavery*, p. 78.

¹³⁸ Fisch, *American Slaves*, p. 28 and Kohn, Meer and Todd, 'Reading Stowe', pp. xix-xxi. It is worth noting that UTC did not have a uniform title in the English editions. Alongside the original title, other titles enjoyed some fortune mostly in the nineteenth century e.g. *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro life in the Slave States of America*; *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Slave Life in America*; *Uncle Tom's Cabin a tale of Life among the Lowly, or Pictures of Slavery in the US*. All these titles pinpointed the American context of the story and underlined that slavery was an issue concerning the USA. See Appendix 1 (UK) for a complete list of the titles.

in printing technologies and the development of railroads lowered publishing costs. This contributed to the spread of cheap editions, and made reading a more affordable habit for various social classes.¹³⁹ The low price of UTC editions in the UK was one of the reasons for the book's success.¹⁴⁰ Several publishers immediately produced versions of the book targeting different market segments, making UTC

Perhaps the first, and certainly the most significant nineteenth-century example of the public appropriation of a text in a world where political propaganda could use the resources of commercialized leisure and entertainment industries, and the techniques of consumer mass production [...]. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a prime example of the remarkable variety of forms in which an illustrated text could be produced in Britain by the middle of the Nineteenth century. It also shows the inventive ways in which big publishers were capable of cashing in on the sudden success of an uncopyrighted foreign book by producing a great variety of texts simultaneously for different markets.¹⁴¹

In the UK, UTC was published more frequently in the second half of the nineteenth century (78 editions) than in the first half of the twentieth (41 editions). During 1852 at least 12 London publishers issued the book.¹⁴² Moreover, publishing houses such as Bohn, Clarke & Co., Ingram & Cooke marketed various editions each during this same year. During the 1850s, 40 editions of the book

¹³⁹ Many publishers started to issue cheap editions in order to compete with the higher prices of the more established firms. Railway stations were one of the best places for selling books, after the improvement of the transport system. On the situation of the publishing market in Great Britain during the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, see: Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: a Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 1957); John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Croom Helm, 1988); Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: the Economics of Book Production in a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Iain Stevenson, *Book Makers: British Publishing in the Twentieth Century* (London: British Library, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ The price of the British editions varied from six pence to 15 shillings. However, the average price of books was between one shilling and one shilling and six pence, while editions in three volumes sold to the libraries cost 31 shillings and six pence. In Parfait, 'Un succès'. Before the spread of cheap editions readers could find only expensive volumes on the market. Therefore, the easiest way to read for them was to borrow books from libraries. See Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 294.

¹⁴¹ Wood, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in England', 83-84.

¹⁴² From the beginning of the British reception of UTC, London had become the main centre of publishing.

were published in the UK.¹⁴³ This was the highest number of UTC editions issued in the UK in any one decade. In the next two decades appeared respectively only six and seven editions; this was probably an inevitable drop after the great number of editions which had appeared in the previous years. From the 1880s to the 1900s, however, figures increased again steadily (with, respectively, 12, 13 and 18 editions between 1880 and 1889, 1890 and 1899, and 1900 and 1910). Numbers dropped again in the 1910s and 1920s (five and seven editions). In the 1930s, nine editions were published, and in the first five years of the 1940s only two editions appeared. Since the first printing, British editions of the book were aimed mostly at a less affluent readership. Among the several publishers that issued cheap versions of the book, Routledge, Nelson and Cassell¹⁴⁴ were the most prolific with, respectively, 11, ten and seven editions. These publishing houses issued multiple editions not only in different years, but also during the same year.¹⁴⁵

Between 1853 and 1945 there were at least 27 editions for children, published within book series as well as in individual volumes. The novel was recognised as a book for children as early as 1853, but editions targeting this specific audience were more numerous in the twentieth century (17 editions against ten in the nineteenth century). Therefore, even if overall in the UK UTC was published more frequently in the nineteenth century than in the subsequent one, it was only in the twentieth century that it was canonised as a book for children. Editions for young audiences peaked in the first decade of that century, when seven versions were published.

Children's literature was a genre already well developed in the UK in the twentieth century. By then, classics such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1866) and *Treasure Island* (1883), had already been published; what is more, British publishers specialising in literature for children (e.g. Partridge & Oakey; John Hogg; Jack, Dutton & Co.) were well-established.¹⁴⁶ While bigger publishers such as

¹⁴³ Figures for this decade could be higher since - according to Parfait - 40 editions were published during the first year. In Parfait, 'Un succès'.

¹⁴⁴ Routledge and Cassell played a leading role in the British publishing market starting from the Victorian period. Both of them published cheap editions: Routledge was famous for the series *Routledge's Shilling Railway Library*, while Cassell was more focused on educational works and illustrated editions of classic books (i.e. Shakespeare, Dante, Don Quixote). See Altick, *The English Common Reader*, pp. 299, 302.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix 1 (UK).

¹⁴⁶ For an overview on nineteenth-century English children's literature, see: Humphrey Carpenter, *Secret Gardens. A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1985)

Routledge and Nelson published editions for children alongside those for adults, the smaller specialised firms issued mostly versions for a young readership.¹⁴⁷ Most of the editions, whether aimed at young or adult audiences, were illustrated and the competition among publishers was played out through drawings. UTC was, as we have seen, born as an illustrated book, and the technological improvements in printing, which started in the 1850s, made drawings increasingly easier to reproduce in the following decades.¹⁴⁸

UTC also gained immediate success in France, although in the nineteenth century it never sold as many copies as Defoe's and Scott's books.¹⁴⁹ General figures for this country confirm the tendency just outlined for the UK: UTC was published more often in the nineteenth century (52 editions) than in the twentieth (20 editions). The book appeared in France in the middle of a publishing revolution. Mid-nineteenth century France, like the USA and the UK, was experiencing transformations in the publishing market. Another factor greatly influenced that period; the Ministry of Education issued two laws, which led to the rise of literacy. This resulted in the general enlargement of French readership, as well as in the increasing importance given to publishing for children.¹⁵⁰ As mentioned before, the anti-slavery issue contributed to the French success of the book. France, like the UK, had already abolished slavery in 1848, however, in the French prefaces of the book this argument never became a reason for affirming national superiority or for blaming the USA because of their backwardness.

and John Rowe Townsend, *Written for Children. An Outline of English-language Children's Literature* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

¹⁴⁷ The UK linked the abolition of slavery in the 1830s with the propaganda of missions amongst black people in the Caribbean and Africa. Adaptations of UTC which focused only on the evangelical works of Tom and Eva had a great success in the UK. See Wood, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in England', 84. Partridge and Oakey - the publisher of the versions for children entitled *All about Little Topsy* and *All about Little Eva* - had already issued in 1852 an edition for adults, *Uncle Tom's Cabin or the History of a Christian Slave*. See Appendix 1(UK) for the publishing details of these editions.

¹⁴⁸ Regarding the British illustrated editions of UTC, Gutjahr singles out the case of the Ingram, Cooke & co. edition (1852) in which the engravings led the reader to focus on the violent aspect of the book. In *Pictures of Slavery*, pp. 78, 81.

¹⁴⁹ These two English authors were the only ones found among French ones in the list of bestselling authors in nineteenth-century France. See Martyn Lyons, 'Les best sellers', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, dir. by Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, 4 vols, *Le temps des éditeurs: du Romantisme à la Belle Époque* (Paris: Fayard 1990), III, pp. 369-97.

¹⁵⁰ The Guizot law (1833) made primary school public, while the Ferry laws (1881-1882) established that primary school should be free, mandatory and non-religious. Besides, the publishing market also took advantage of less strict legislation regarding censorship and competition between publishers, which contributed to a dramatic rise of publications between 1840 and WWI. See *Le temps des éditeurs*, pp. 8-9.

According to the translators' prefaces, the prevalent approach towards the USA was curiosity to get to know more about the New World, considered as a legendary country.¹⁵¹

The book was published in France in multiple translations, both in serialised versions and in volume format. Three different translations were published at the same time, in October 1852, in serialised versions which appeared in three newspapers of different political tendencies.¹⁵² Volume editions appeared shortly after and most of them were published in Paris. Between 1852 and 1853, 11 different translations and about 20 editions of the book were produced. It was the first time that so many editions were published in such short time.¹⁵³ Publishers often issued the same translation in several editions, which differed not only in number of volumes, formats,¹⁵⁴ prices and paratext, but also in terms of title. Before settling on *La Case de l'oncle Tom* during the twentieth century, the French title oscillated between *La Case de l'oncle Tom*, which was the most successful, and *La cabane de l'oncle Tom*. The only exception was the translation published by La Bédollière, which appeared as *La Case du Père Tom*. Subtitles also varied, showing a clear dependence on the English ones, i.e. *La vie des nègres en Amérique* translated from *Negro Life as It Was in America*; *Vie des nègres dans les états a esclaves d'Amérique* translation of *Negro Life in the Slave States of America*; *Tableau de l'esclavage dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique* translated from *Picture of Slavery in America*.¹⁵⁵

The various editions of the book targeted different kinds of audience, as noted by Gustave Barba who, in 1852, published five editions of the book 'pour tous les goûts, tous les âges, et toutes les fortunes'.¹⁵⁶ Apart from the importance of

¹⁵¹ Translators' prefaces to the 1852-1853 editions underlined that free men were more than slaves in the USA and invited readers to learn more about this nation. See Parfait, 'Un succès'.

¹⁵² *La Presse* published the translation by Léon Pilatte, *Le Siècle* that of Léon de Wailly and Edmond Texier and *Le Pays* that of Louis Enault. See Parfait, 'Un succès'.

¹⁵³ Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* was published six times between 1820 and 1850. *David Copperfield* by Charles Dickens had only two translations in 1851. See Parfait, 'Un succès'.

¹⁵⁴ For instance, the translation by Le Brun was published by Flammarion in 1853 and by Cie in 1856. The use of the same translation by different publishing houses concerned also later editions for young people, e.g. the 1930s illustrated adaptation by Henriette Rouillard published by Delgrave in 8° in 'Bibliothèque Juventa' and then re-used in 1932 in 12° by Delattre. Regarding the different formats Hachette published in 8°-12°-16°, Flammarion in 4°, Houdin in 16°, Charpentier in 18°. See Appendix 1 (France).

¹⁵⁵ Parfait, 'Un succès'.

¹⁵⁶ *Bibliographie de la France*, 1852, p. 534 quoted in Parfait, 'Un succès'. These different editions are ironically defined by the journalist Michel Monselet 'édition de luxe, édition de cabinet de

the paratext in a publishing market that involved new segments of population, Barba's remark also highlighted the immediate reception of UTC as a book for children. From 1853 onwards, in fact, 'a été énorme et continu [...] le succès du roman après de la jeunesse'.¹⁵⁷ In the nineteenth century the trend of publications followed the British pattern: the 1850s registered the peak of editions (at least 28)¹⁵⁸ of UTC, while in the two next decades only a small number of editions was published (five each for the 1860s and for the 1870s). Figures started to rise again in the 1880s and 1890s, with six and eight editions respectively. The twentieth century marked a notable difference with respect to the UK. Figures for French editions of UTC, in fact, fell steadily until the 1920s (only two editions between 1900 and 1909, four in the 1910s and two in the 1920s), before rising in the next decade, when a total of 12 editions was produced.

The large popular publisher Hachette played a major role in marketing the book in different formats and in different series ('Bibliothèque des meilleurs romans étrangers'; 'Bibliothèque des Ecoles et des Familles'; 'Bibliothèque verte'; 'Nouvelle bibliothèque d'éducation et de récréation'), targeting both adult and young audiences. Since the 1830s, in fact, Hachette had also appealed to a young readership, as an official publisher of textbooks.¹⁵⁹ In total, 13 French editions were specifically produced for children, the majority of which were illustrated.¹⁶⁰ As in the British case, most of these editions were issued in the twentieth century (ten), against only three editions for children in the previous century.¹⁶¹

lecture, édition de bain, édition de nuit, édition de jour' in 'Le Roman à l'américaine', *L'Artiste*, 15 décembre 1852, t. IX, p. 157, quoted in Lucas, *La Littérature anti-esclavagiste*, p. 65.

¹⁵⁷ Lucas, *La Littérature anti-esclavagiste*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁸ The number of editions for this period could be higher since, according to Barba the translation by La Bédollière was supposed to be published in five editions in the same year. However, I have found no trace of these 1852 multiple editions nor in the catalogues, neither in Parfait's book, which counts around 20 editions for 1852-1853.

¹⁵⁹ The Ministry of Education designed Hachette for this role. The French State controlled not only the market of textbooks, but also that of recreational books, which flourished in the 1820s-1830s. Hachette create the 'Bibliothèque des Ecoles et des Familles' after the Ferry laws. In 1885 it had 200 titles and 6 collections. After the reorganisation of the 1889-1890 the collection encompassed 12 series differing for formats, number of pages and covers to fulfil the needs of children of various ages. Refer to Jean Glénisson, *Le livre pour la jeunesse*, in *Le temps des éditeurs*, pp. 417-43.

¹⁶⁰ Actually Lucas counted eight illustrated and adapted versions for the young audience during the period 1853-1912, three more than those I found.

¹⁶¹ In spite of the almost exclusive presence of non-religious publishers in the market of books for children after the 1880s, religious publishers issued two of these editions. The first one, *Un coup d'oeil dans la case de l'oncle Tom*, was published by the Société des livres religieux of Toulouse in 1853. The second one appeared in 1892 by Ardant. For the reasons of this presence, see: Jean Glénisson, *Le livre pour la jeunesse*.

The success of UTC as a book for children in France was established later than in Britain. Differently from the UK, in fact, the greatest number of editions for children (seven) was published in the 1930s. In that same decade versions of the book produced for young audiences even overtook the number of editions issued for adults.¹⁶² Books for children had flourished in the French publishing market from the 1830s, but only in the twentieth century did literature for children become a fully legitimate genre, acquiring many readers, and being recognized as a specific market sector to be exploited by publishers.¹⁶³ In this respect, the fact that almost all adaptations of UTC for young readers appeared in book series in twentieth-century France is emblematic of the importance publishers attributed by then to this well-established genre.¹⁶⁴

1.4 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Italy (1852-1945)¹⁶⁵

1.4.1 From 1852 to the beginning of the regime

Some of the more recent contributions to the history of publishing in nineteenth-century Italy point out the peculiarity of the Italian publishing market compared to the rest of Europe.¹⁶⁶ This consideration is not something formulated only by scholars in the twentieth and twenty-first century, but was already clear during the 1800s. In 1873 the publisher Emilio Treves stated: 'Il mercato italiano sarà

¹⁶² According to Parfait, nowadays in France the novel is considered mostly as a book for children. See Parfait, 'Un succès'.

¹⁶³ In the new century literature for children was considered 'un secteur commercial régi par les impératifs du profit maximum'. In Laura Noesser, 'Le livre pour enfants', in *Histoire de l'édition française, Le livre concurrence 1900-1950*, IV, pp. 457-67 (p. 467). New publishing houses started to publish books for children, e.g. Flammarion, Gautier Languerau. Delgrave issued translations of English writers - such as Kipling - besides famous French authors, in its collection 'Juventa'. See Noesser, *Le livre pour enfants*, pp. 457-67.

¹⁶⁴ Series demonstrate and control the diversification of publishers' activities and immediately indicate the genre. See Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 22.

¹⁶⁵ There are only two (not recent) studies on the publishing history of UTC in Italy: Frederick H. Jackson, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy', *Symposium*, 7.2 (1953), 323-32 and James Woodress, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy', in *Essays on American Literature in Honor of Jay B. Hubbell*, ed. by Clarence Gohdes (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967) pp. 126-40.

¹⁶⁶ See *Storia degli editori italiani: dall'unità alla fine degli anni Sessanta*, ed. by Nicola Tranfaglia and Albertina Vittoria (Bari: Laterza, 2000); David Forgacs, *L'industrializzazione della cultura italiana: 1880-1990*, trans. by Emanuela Alessandrini (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000); Giovanni Ragone, *Un secolo di libri: storia dell'editoria in Italia dall'unità al post-moderno* (Turin: Einaudi, 1999). For a partially different interpretation of the Italian publishing market between 1850s and 1910s, see: John Davis, 'Media, Markets and Modernity: The Italian Case, 1870-1915', in *The Printed Media in Fin-de-siècle Italy*, ed. by Ann Caesar, Gabriella Romani and Jennifer Burns (London: Legenda, 2011), pp. 10-19.

sempre ristretto all'Italia mentre il mercato dei libri francesi, inglesi e tedeschi è il mondo'.¹⁶⁷ While Treves highlighted the narrowness of the Italian market, another publisher, Pomba, focused on the scarce appeal that reading had for Italians. He pointed out also that the favourite reading of Italians was the press, along with legal and scholastic publications.¹⁶⁸

One explanation for this situation is the late unification of Italy and the high rate of illiteracy, which in the nineteenth century affected 75% of the population. The educational system tried to remedy this through the Casati and the Coppino laws of 1859 and 1877; however, it took a long time for the level of literacy in the country to rise.¹⁶⁹ In spite of this cultural and social situation - the industrial revolution brought to Italy too a first phase of economic development, even if this was slower than in Britain and France.¹⁷⁰ Publishing was affected by improvement of printing technologies and of the transportation system, which made production and distribution faster and cheaper, by the better economic conditions for part of the population, and by contemporary educational reforms. In the second half of the century, new segments of society could afford to purchase books and publishers began to target a young readership.

These publishing changes happened during the process of unification of Italy and were linked to cultural and educational shifts, aimed at ensuing with civil and cultural progress in the new nation. As noted already, there was early recognition among publishers about the backwardness of the Italian publishing market with respect to the rest of Europe. Publishers produced mostly two different kinds of literature. Whereas the Milanese ones issued foreign and Italian novels and the so-called 'letteratura di consumo', which also addressed new

¹⁶⁷ Emilio Treves, in *Atti del comitato dell'inchiesta industriale*, parte orale, cat. 131 (Rome: Tipografia di Giovanni Polizzi e c., 1873, V, p. 11) quoted in *Storia degli editori*, p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ In 1859 the Casati law affirmed free compulsory attendance for the first two years in primary school. In 1877 the Coppino law extended this to the third year in primary school and introduced sanctions for people who broke the law. Municipalities were in charge of sustaining schools economically, but often they did not cope well. The law was not fully implemented and literacy rose at a slow pace. At the beginning of the twentieth century, illiteracy in Italy was still at 50% (while in the UK it was at 3% and in France at 5%). See *Storia degli editori*, p. 4. It is also worth noting that in 1888 France, instead, the whole primary school was free and mandatory.

¹⁷⁰ Industrialisation of publishing took place in Italy only during the 1930s. See *Storia degli editori italiani*, p. 12.

market segments (the lower social classes), Florentine firms produced mostly works by national authors and educational material.¹⁷¹

UTC arrived in Italy just five months after its publication in the USA and nine years before the unification. The features of mid-nineteenth century Italian publishing described above justified the expectation of different reception for the book with respect to the USA, the UK and France. Yet though the Italian reception of UTC has some specific peculiarities, it also shares some features with British and French patterns. Likewise, newspapers throughout Italy announced the advent of Uncle Tom and in 1853 French and Italian adaptations were performed on stage. In that same year Beecher Stowe's novel inspired the ballet *Bianchi e neri* by Giuseppe Rota, which was performed at La Scala, and the following year the successful play *Gli spazzacamini della valle d'Aosta, Una tratta di negri in Piemonte*, written by Giovanni Sabbatini. The piece denounced the traffic of children taken away from their parents and forced to work as chimney sweeps.¹⁷² Furthermore, the book extended its influence well beyond the literary field. It inspired paintings (e.g. a representation of Tom and Eva reading the Bible by Saverio Altamura) and some characters' names were used for 'describing individuals on the stage and in the concert halls'.¹⁷³

From a critical point of view, UTC was received positively and was interpreted as an emblem of victory against oppression. Although slavery was not a real problem in Italy, Italians tended to side with Uncle Tom. During the 1850s, they were still experiencing foreign domination and, therefore, sympathised with the black slaves since both of them were dominated.¹⁷⁴ In nineteenth-century Italy the book entered a political battle between liberals and reactionaries. UTC

¹⁷¹ The Milanese publisher Sonzogno played a leading role in the publication of 'letteratura di consumo'. Florentine editors such as Barbera focused mostly on the production of scholarly and philological works and handbooks for schools. See Giovanni Ragone, *Un secolo di libri*, pp. 38-55; Alberto Cadioli and Giuliano Vigni, *Storia dell'editoria italiana dall'unità a oggi: un profilo introduttivo* (Milan: Bibliografica, 2004), pp. 17-37.

¹⁷² Still in 1853, three of the five theatres in Naples presented dramatic versions of UTC, preceded by advertisements in the *Giornale delle due Sicilie*. According to the theatre reviewer Emanuele Rocco, during the season 1853-1854, in Naples UTC was the most popular production along with Giuseppe Verdi's *Trovatore*. See Joseph Rossi 'An Italian *Uncle Tom's Cabin*', *Italica*, 35.1 (1958), 38-42 and, by the same author, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin and Protestantism in Italy', *American Quarterly*, 11.3 (1959), 416-24 (p. 418). For theatre versions in the UK and France see section 1.3.

¹⁷³ Jackson, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', 330. Jackson also mentions that a famous trained horse of that time was named Uncle Tom.

¹⁷⁴ Jackson, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', 324. At the beginning of the twentieth century, UTC was considered a far more effective tool for changing the history of the USA than Italian literature in fighting foreign domination.

received positive opinions from liberals, who praised the USA as a land of free institutions. It was considered a far more effective tool for changing the history of the USA than Italian literature in fighting foreign rule. As the historian Luigi Belgrano encapsulated it, 'the book had exercised greater influence in counteracting American slavery than the *Prigioni* of Silvio Pellico in combating Austrian oppression'.¹⁷⁵ On the opposite side, Italian reactionaries interpreted that freedom as the cause of the moral decadence and corruption of the USA. Among reactionaries, the most negative critiques came from the Church, which blamed the book also for its Protestantism.¹⁷⁶

The first edition of the book appeared in a serialised version in September 1852 in *Il Risorgimento*, a Turin newspaper. The other two serialised editions were issued in November of the same year: one in *Mediterraneo*, a newspaper from Genoa that 'was publishing a version in French',¹⁷⁷ and the other in Venice in *Gazzetta ufficiale*. The first two volume editions were published almost at the same time: the first by Fontana in Turin and the second by Borroni and Scotti in Milan.¹⁷⁸ The publication of serialised versions in newspapers, alongside the issuing of volume editions, shows the great success of the press among Italian readers. Between 1884 and 1895, the total number of published periodicals increased from 951 to 1269 and the greatest growth took place with popular periodicals. The same extraordinary printing success was happening in France, where serialised versions of UTC preceded volume ones.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Luigi Belgrano, *Storia coloniale dell'epoca antica, medioevale e moderna* (Florence: Barbèra, 1916) quoted in Jackson, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', 325. It is also significant that in 1873 the economist Salvatore Cognetti De Martiis wrote a biography of Abraham Lincoln 'to inspire Italian patriots'. In Jackson, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 325.

¹⁷⁶ According to the Italian Catholic press, Beecher Stowe, as a Protestant, was 'attempting to break the chains of slavery merely by describing its brutalities and by quoting Biblical passages'. The only solution for ending slavery was, instead, the adoption of 'the methods of the Catholic Church'. In Jackson, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', 326. Harsh critiques of the book appeared in *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Catholic newspaper that was a leader in the battle against liberalism and modernity. Regarding the role of the Church and *Civiltà Cattolica* in mid-nineteenth century Italy, see: Davis, 'Media, markets', pp. 16-18.

¹⁷⁷ Jackson, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', 323.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ See Stefano Pivato, 'Lettura e istruzione popolare in Emilia Romagna tra Otto e Novecento', in *Editoria italiana tra Otto e Novecento*, ed. by Gianfranco Tortorelli (Bologna: Analisi, 1986), pp. 33-48 (p. 39). It is worth noting that the most important Italian publishing houses of the period, Sonzogno and Treves, started out as publishers. Thanks to the success of their periodicals they were able to start book publications. See Silvano Rubino, 'Come nasce una capitale del libro: Sonzogno e Treves', in *Libri, giornali e riviste a Milano*, ed. by Fausto Colombo (Milan: Abitare Segesta cataloghi, 1998), pp. 27-32. In addition, books and periodicals shared the same

During the nineteenth century the book was published more than once in all the most important cities of Italy (Milan, Turin, Naples, Florence). The only exception was Rome, for a twofold reason. For one thing, this city never became an important publishing centre; additionally, it was the home of the Church, the most authoritative voice against Beecher Stowe's book, as mentioned before. As a consequence, in 1853 the censor banned the book in Rome. The Church felt threatened, in particular, by the freedom of worship that Protestants had achieved in some Italian constitutional states after the revolution of 1848. Given this situation and the general positive reactions to the book, the Church became afraid that UTC 'was only an excuse seized by "libertines" to eulogize cults forbidden by the laws, and to criticize the Catholic Church by implication'.¹⁸⁰

Of the 25 editions published between 1852 and the end of the century 16 were published in Milan, five in Florence, two in Naples and two in Turin. The number produced in Milan is not surprising, inasmuch as this city had been the main publishing centre in Italy since the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ From the 1880s, the name of the publishing company began to be mentioned next to the name of the printers, e.g. Paolo Carrara Edit. (Tip. Letteraria, 1888) and La Milano (Tip. Confalonieri, 1900). In the last decades of the century the first step

distribution: 'Il regno di Sonzogno è l'edicola: tutti i suoi libri si possono comprare a dispense, o per abbonamento o direttamente dal giornalaio'. In Laura Barile, *Élite e divulgazione dell'editoria italiana dall'unità al Fascismo* (Bologna: Clueb, 1991), p. 53. On the contemporary French success of the press, see: Catherine Berto, 'Les concurrences', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, IV, pp. 23-35.

¹⁸⁰ Rossi, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin and Protestantism', p. 421. Before the revolution of 1848, Protestants in Italy had strong limitations in the activities they could carry out in public life. A partial change of this situation happened thanks to the constitutional regimes set up after the revolution that 'allowed, legally or otherwise, a considerable degree of freedom of worship'. In 'Uncle Tom's Cabin and Protestantism', pp. 416-17. The revolution failed and these changes didn't last. The previous restrictions were reinforced everywhere except in Piedmont, where religious equality was ratified. The absence of editions of UTC published in Rome seems to be a peculiar aspect of the Italian publishing history of the book. It is an emblem of the role that translations assumed in the fight between Church and the Liberal State in pre-unification Italy. The first and only edition of the period under examination published in Rome was an edition for children in 1911.

¹⁸¹ Cadioli, Vigni, *Storia editoriale*, p. 15. Interestingly, neither Sonzogno nor Treves published the book in the nineteenth century. These two publishers, both established in 1861 in Milan, differentiated themselves by aiming at different kind of readership. While Sonzogno targeted a popular readership, publishing above all 'letteratura di consumo', Treves aimed at a more educated public, opting in general for the publication of Italian authors. About the history of these two firms, see: Rubino, 'Come nasce una capitale' and Silvia Valisa, 'Casa Editrice Sonzogno. Mediazione culturale, circuiti del sapere ed innovazione tecnologica nell'Italia unificata (1861-1900)', in *The Printed Media*, pp. 90-106.

towards the shaping of an Italian modern publishing industry took place.¹⁸² The new publishing enterprises began to be more independent from the typographies and tried to publish works for their own audience. This change led to the birth of the figure of the publisher, a cultural agent who produced works accordingly to his own editorial and cultural plan.¹⁸³

Generally speaking, and differently from France and the UK, in Italy UTC was more published in the first half of the twentieth century, with 68 editions issued, against the 26 put out in the second half of the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century Italy lacked a main publishing centre, since, as noted, different cities issued editions of UTC. Between 1852 and 1854, 11 Italian editions were issued, a much smaller number than the French and British ones. It is worth noting that Fibreno issued in Naples three four-volume editions of the book at the same time at 20, 25 and 30 grana (cents) a volume. Nobile, another Neapolitan publisher, advertised his own four-volume edition at the still lower price of 12 grana a volume.¹⁸⁴ This means that the publishing sector in Italy, as in other countries, was already concerned with the segmentation of the market in the mid-nineteenth century.

In the USA, France and the UK the number of editions issued in 1852 and 1853 dropped in the following decades. In Italy, most of the editions appeared in just two years; not only did different publishers issue their versions in the same year, but some of them, like Borroni and Scotti for instance, published two editions in the same year (1852). The 'eclipse' of UTC occurred between 1854 and 1868, roughly the same period of the first US eclipse. One reason for this might be, in the Italian case too, saturation of the market. It is relevant, however, that during these years Italy became a unified nation. Since UTC was interpreted as a symbol of the struggle against foreign domination, the first new edition appeared, not surprisingly, only seven years after unification.¹⁸⁵ From 1868 to the end of the century, UTC continued to be published and the number of editions slowly

¹⁸² The process developed unevenly since, for several years after the beginning of the twentieth century, modern big publishing industries – such as Treves and Mondadori – worked alongside small or medium-sized ones. See Forgacs, *L'industrializzazione*, p. 60.

¹⁸³ Tranfaglia, Vittoria, *Storia degli editori italiani*, pp. 3, 70.

¹⁸⁴ Rossi, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin and Protestantism', 418.

¹⁸⁵ Woodress, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy', 130-31. In the same article Woodress argued also that UTC enjoyed periods of great popularity in coincidence with major political crises, namely Risorgimento and the Fascist regime (p. 135).

increased (three editions in the 1870s, four in the 1880s and seven in the 1890s). However, there were no longer multiple editions in the same year.

Different translations of the title were in use in nineteenth-century Italy, as in France. Uncertainties focused, in this case too, on the word *cabin*, which was translated as *capanna* in most of the cases, but also as *tugurio*, while French titles used alternatively *cabane* and *cabine*. Subtitles varied, too. One of them followed the French model: *La capanna dello zio Tom, ovvero vita dei negri in America*.¹⁸⁶ These similarities, in addition to the version in French published in *Mediterraneo*, highlight the presence of indirect translations into Italian.¹⁸⁷

The increase of editions started at the end of the nineteenth century, continued in the first decade of the twentieth century (nine editions issued), but was stopped by a temporary drop in the 1910s, when only six editions went out. Overall, in the period 1911-1920, translations of American literature were not prevalent on the Italian market, though by then Beecher Stowe was still among the most translated American authors. Publishers advertised the popular aspect of her book, which was presented in the Italian editions either as a popular novel or as a book for children, and sold cheaply.¹⁸⁸ In Italy, children were recognised quite early as a specific readership for the book: the first edition aimed at them was produced in 1854. Similarly to the UK and to France, however, most of the editions for children were published in the twentieth century. Only four of these versions were issued in the nineteenth century,¹⁸⁹ while 26 were published in the twentieth. In addition to the school reforms mentioned above, unification of the country boosted literature for children in Italy. As stated by Boero and De Luca

la produzione di libri e periodici per l'infanzia – una produzione consapevole dei propri scopi, degli spazi culturali da occupare, dei compiti da assolvere – prende corpo in Italia negli stessi anni in cui nasce lo Stato nazionale.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ See section 1.3.

¹⁸⁷ 'Indirect translation is translation into Language C based on a translation into Language B of a source text in Language A'. In Clifford E. Landers, *Literary Translation. A Practical Guide* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), p. 130.

¹⁸⁸ Ferme, *Tradurre*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁹ The only publisher that issued editions of UTC for adults and children in nineteenth-century Italy was the Milanese Paolo Carrara.

¹⁹⁰ Pino Boero and Carmine De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia* (Bari: Laterza, 2009), p. v.

Publications aimed at a young audience were primarily schoolbooks, however, and only secondarily literature of entertainment. Books for children were meant to play a pivotal role in the formation of young Italians, and to make them feel fully part of the new unified nation. In the aftermath of unification, literature for children started to gain importance, since it began to be considered a specific genre. Several publishing houses specialized in this sector (Paravia, Loescher, Lattes, Zanichelli, Sansoni, Le Monnier) and non-specialised ones, such as Treves, Bemporad and Carrara,¹⁹¹ also started to create specific series dedicated to children. Besides being read in schools, literature for children was widespread mostly through two other channels: periodicals, such as *Il giornale dei bambini* (1881), and translations.¹⁹² Between 1878 and 1900, several foreign authors were translated, including Charles Dickens, Daniel Defoe, Francis Hodgson Burnett and Robert Louis Stevenson.¹⁹³ Whereas in Northern Europe, from the second half of the century, literature for children had the same dignity as educational literature, in Italy the situation was different, as pointed out by Annie Moroni Parker in a newspaper from the early 1890s:

La letteratura in Italia, pur troppo [sic], ha così poco da offrire a chi, avendo l'intelligenza viva e una certa istruzione, sente il desiderio di nutrirla con buone letture! In Inghilterra invece sono a migliaia le pubblicazioni per la fanciullezza e per la gioventù. [...]. Perché non basta istruire un essere umano, bisogna pensare a nutrire la sua mente con cibi sani e gustosi, altrimenti il dar l'istruzione è come stimolar l'appetito a qualcuno, senza poi dargli niente per soddisfarlo. Ditelo voi bambini, siete voi che dovete domandare con insistenza questo cibo intellettuale.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Cadioli and Vignini, *Storia editoriale italiana*, pp. 37, 41.

¹⁹² Although the education system increasingly encouraged the inclusion of creative literary production in the textbooks, it was opposed to books considered a threat to the seriousness of teaching. See Renata Lollo, *Sulla letteratura per l'infanzia* (Brescia: La Scuola, 2003), pp. 18-20. For instance, the Education Commission of 1881 advised against books by Collodi. According to the commission, his books were 'concepiti in modo così romanzesco da dar soverchio luogo al dolce, distraendo dall'utile; e sono scritti in stile così gaio, e non di rado così umoristicamente frivolo, da togliere ogni serietà all'insegnamento'. In *Sulla letteratura*, p. 38.

¹⁹³ For a list of authors translated in Italy in the nineteenth century, see: Boero and De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, pp. 4-5 and 75-77 and Lollo, *Sulla letteratura per l'infanzia*, pp. 28-31.

¹⁹⁴ Annie Moroni Parker in *Il Corriere dei bambini*, n. 12, 26 July 1891 quoted in Lollo, *Sulla letteratura*, pp. 43-44. A similar opinion was expressed in *Il giornale dei bambini*, whose editorial (7 July 1881) opened with the question: 'Perché quel che si fa per i bambini in America, in Inghilterra, in Francia, non s'ha da fare in Italia?'. This periodical published *Pinocchio* for the first time in serialised version. At the end of the serialised version Pinocchio died, and children wrote in large

In this first phase of the formation of an Italian literature for children, recognition of the children's right to be entertained as well as educated was still challenged. This specific situation, the 'adult' political interpretation of UTC, and the 'eclipse' of editions that lasted for fourteen years can probably explain the low number of translations for children in this century. In the twentieth century, nine out of the 26 editions for children appeared in the period 1900-21. The first decade of the twentieth century was, all over Europe, a pivotal moment for the consideration of childhood. Young people became important within the formation of mass society; they were a new market sector and a new segment of the population to involve in the activities of the State, in its policies and, above all, in the upcoming war.¹⁹⁵

During the 1910s, Italy continued the tradition of periodicals devoted to literature for children. Two of the most successful weekly journals for children were *Il giornalino della domenica* published by Bemporad in 1906 and *Il Corriere dei Piccoli*, the first Italian periodical to publish comic strips, founded in 1908. Moreover, an increasing number of book series for children were created in this decade and they began to present regularly translations of foreign books. The series 'Nuova collezione economica illustrata di racconti, romanzi e avventure per la gioventù' by Bemporad, for instance, started early in 1910 and lasted until the 1930s.¹⁹⁶ From the same 1910 UTC became part of this series.¹⁹⁷ Vallardi, Bemporad and Paravia issued the most successful editions of UTC in the period 1902-13 and re-printed and re-edited them often until 1945.

numbers to the periodical, asking for changes to the end of the story. It was the first time that anything similar happened in Italy. Other periodicals had different opinions regarding the priorities of literature for children. The editorial of the first number of *Prime Letture* (1870-1878), founded by Luigi Salier, stated: 'Il periodico abbraccerà ogni materia spettante all'educazione dei fanciulli e farà di trattarla in modo chiaro e dilettevole, coll'intendimento di accompagnare e di compiere l'istruzione che si dà nelle scuole elementari e nelle prime classi delle scuole secondarie'. All the previous quotes are taken from Lollo, *Sulla letteratura*, pp. 32, 37-39.

¹⁹⁵ Gibelli, *Il popolo bambino*, pp. 3-8.

¹⁹⁶ Book series interested in foreign authors included 'La biblioteca dei ragazzi' by Istituto Editoriale Italiano; 'Classici del fanciullo. Favole, leggende e racconti di tutto il mondo' by Carabba; 'Grandi scrittori stranieri per l'infanzia e per la gioventù' by SEI, and 'La Scala d'oro' by UTET. The famous book series for children issued by Salani, 'La biblioteca dei miei ragazzi', was constituted by translations of French texts initially published in the Catholic periodical *La semaine de la Suzette*. See *Quando Alice incontrò Pinocchio*, ed. by Pompeo Vagliani (Turin: Trauben, 1998), pp. 13-27.

¹⁹⁷ Except for Carrara and Vallardi editions, all the versions for children of UTC from 1939 on were part of series. See Appendix 1 (Italy).

1.4.2 The Ventennio

The decline in production in the 1910s preceded the two decades in which UTC was published more often in Italy: the 1920s saw 25 editions and the 1930s 22 editions. Between 1940 and 1945 the book was published six times. Therefore, the Ventennio marked a turning point in the history of publishing of UTC in Italy. What is more, the success of the book is representative of the fact that this was a thriving period for translations, above all from English and American literature. Despite the success of editions of UTC, there were no reviews of the book in *L'Italia che scrive* and *La parola e il libro*, two of the rare periodicals of the period which reviewed both books for adults as well as books for children.¹⁹⁸ *L'Italia che scrive* only carried small advertisements for the Hoepli editions of 1928 and 1940 and for the Paravia edition of 1935 in the section 'Recentissime pubblicazioni italiane'. Nevertheless, during the Ventennio the book was considered a classic, appealing mostly to a popular readership, as stated by Ettore Fabietti

La gente agogna a novità e la moda è sovrana. Soltanto i più umili amici di libri – operai e contadini, – sono conservatori e tradizionalisti in fatto di letteratura e rimangono fedeli ai capolavori autentici come la *Capanna dello zio Tom* e il *Quo Vadis!* che saranno ancora vivi per chi sa quante generazioni!¹⁹⁹

Useful critical opinions about UTC during the Ventennio come from allographic prefaces.²⁰⁰ They appeared in a minority of editions: in Nerbini and Barion 1928, Hoepli 1923, 1928, 1940, and Paravia 1940 for children. The Nerbini

¹⁹⁸ Both periodicals regularly published reviews of translations. *La parola e il libro* - at least from the 1930s under the direction of Leo Pollini - openly supported the regime, while *L'Italia che scrive* - directed by Angelo Fortunato Formiggini - was always far from the regime's ideology. For more details on *L'Italia che scrive*, see: Sabrina Fava, *Emilia Formiggini Santamaria. Dagli studi storico-pedagogici alla letteratura per l'infanzia* (Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 2002).

¹⁹⁹ Ettore Fabietti, 'Del tradurre', *Pegaso*, 4.1 (1932), 48-59 (p. 52). In 1932 an article on American literature appeared in the same periodical, *Pegaso*. The article tackled Southern literature, but did not mention Beecher Stowe. The author also sketched a portrait of the blacks, who 'apportavano alla vita del sud il dono dei loro costumi istintivi e pittoreschi, le loro abitudini di indolenza, di gentilezza e di pazienza, apportavano un contributo di ricca emotività, il talento della danza e del canto, la loro scala musicale africana'. The stereotypical description of black men is accompanied by a forgiving assessment of slavery: 'I negri facevano parte della vita della famiglia bianca, ne godevano la fiducia, lavoravano, talvolta maltrattati, spesso benvenuti'. In Stark Young, 'La letteratura americana e le sue sezioni', *Pegaso*, 4.6 (1932), 674-87 (pp. 683, 684).

²⁰⁰ On the functions of allographic prefaces, see: Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 263-65.

and Hoepli prefaces are by the book's translators; the Paravia one is by Maria Bersani, the director of the book series; and the Barion one is by the aforementioned Ettore Fabietti. The book was acclaimed for its ethical and immortal values in facing every kind of oppression and for its effective power in the abolition of slavery. Except for Nerbini, prefaces also highlighted the Christian dimension of the book. The judgments expressed in these prefaces can be summed up by Fulvia Rachele, the Hoepli translator:

finché ci sarà sopruso, ingiustizia e prepotenza e finché palpito di carità fraterna sgorgherà a deplorarlo il libro della Beecher Stowe sarà attuale e avrà freschezza di un'onda d'amore che zampilla dal Vangelo.²⁰¹

Nerbini's case is interesting, since, whilst it shares basically the same reasons to praise the book, it provides a different point of view. According to the preface, people have to read the book but do not have to follow 'la cieca rassegnazione e il pietismo di Tom che si dibatte in una religione formale e che domanda consolazione alla Bibbia che legittima l'oppressione e la violenza'.²⁰² While the information available about Fulvia Rachele Saporiti and the writer of Nerbini's preface are not sufficient to infer any influence of their habitus on the interpretation of UTC, this is not the case for Fabietti's preface that opened the translation by his wife Mara Fabietti.²⁰³ He focused on the ideal addressees of the book, which is a book for everyone and is aimed at people from all ages and all social classes:

²⁰¹ Fulvia Rachele Saporiti, 'Introduction', in *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Milan: Hoepli, 1928), p. xi. The three Hoepli editions have the same translator's preface. The few information about Fulvia Rachele Saporiti (1870-1936) are limited to her collaborations to Italian magazines (e.g. *Il fanfulla della domenica*, *Cordelia*, *Rivista Illustrata del Popolo d'Italia*), her holding a literary salon and correspondence with intellectuals of the time, among which Amelia Rosselli. See <<http://www.letteraturadimenticata.it/biblsign%20DF.htm>> [accessed April 2017]

²⁰² Sad, 'Introduction', in *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Florence: Nerbini, 1928), p. 2.

²⁰³ Mara Sanguini Fabietti (1886-1967) translated from English, French and German mostly between the 1920s and the 1950s. In addition to her translation of UTC is worth recalling also a translation of Grimm's fairy tales published in 1926 and *Le père Goriot*, published in 1935, both issued by Barion. See Ivonne Defant, 'Mara Fabietti e la traduzione delle fiabe dei fratelli Grimm', in *Traduttrici. Female Voices across Languages*, ed. by Oriana Palusci (Trento: Tangram, 2011), pp. 97-107.

I genitori che trascurano di far leggere questo libro ai figli giovinetti, le persone colte che non lo consigliano alla gente umile con la quale vengono a contatto, i maestri che non lo ricordano ai loro alunni, le famiglie che non lo hanno presso di sé, vicino ai grandi libri di edificazione morale, commettono un grave peccato d'omissione.²⁰⁴

His emphasis on 'persone umili' directly reminds us of his activity in promoting reading among the working class. Fabietti was a socialist and, in 1903, he was the director of the 'Consorzio Milanese delle biblioteche popolari' and, from 1908 to 1926, before being dismissed by the Fascist regime, of the 'Federazione italiana delle biblioteche popolari'. Fabietti also collaborated with the popular publisher Barion, where he was in charge of the narrative section, the notes and introductions to classics, and the translations from English and Russian.²⁰⁵

By then, multiple editions were issued by different publishing houses, not only in different years, but also within the same year. For instance, in 1928 Nerbini, Barion and Hoepli issued versions of UTC. What is more, in 1928, Nerbini published two editions differing in format, illustrations and translation. The case of the popular publisher Salani is representative as far as multiple editions are concerned. This firm had started publishing the book in 1885, going on to four editions during the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century it published ten editions for an adult readership; all of them between 1921-39, in different series ('Salani Romanzi Illustrati', 'Biblioteca Economica', 'Grandi romanzi Salani', 'Popolarissima'). Prices widely ranged, from L. 1 for the 1928 abridgement published by Nerbini to L. 32 for the 1940 Hoepli edition. As Ferme recalls, books under L. 4 were affordable by most of the readers, those between L. 5 and 10 were too expensive for the average readers and editions beyond L. 10 were comparable to current luxury editions.²⁰⁶ While Bemporad (L. 3.50) and the Nerbini abridgement (L. 1) aimed at the popular segment of the market, Sonzogno (L. 10.50 for the 1930 edition), Paravia (L. 14 for the 1940 edition) and Hoepli (L. 32) addressed their editions to a better off readership.

²⁰⁴ Ettore Fabietti, 'Introduction', in *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Milan: Barion, 1928), p. 2.

²⁰⁵ For further details on Fabietti and Barion, see: *Editori a Milano (1900-1945)*, ed. by Patrizia Caccia (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2013), pp. 63-64.

²⁰⁶ Ferme, *Tradurre*, p. 50. Books' prices mentioned were found on the book covers and on advertisements in *L'Italia che scrive*. See Appendix 1 (Italy) for the prices of other editions.

The great number of editions highlights the importance of publishing during the Ventennio. Fascism was designing the shaping of the 'new man',²⁰⁷ the new Italian who could ensure the survival of the regime itself. Publishing played a pivotal role in this political programme; it was considered as an institution that should help the regime to build consent. As Franco Ciarlantini stated:

L'editoria è una cattedra. In fondo la si può definire un complemento della funzione educativa della chiesa, della casa, della scuola: un complemento necessario.²⁰⁸

The Italian publishing market had depended on foreign literatures since well before the Ventennio.²⁰⁹ However, this phenomenon reached its peak in Fascist Italy, 'the most receptive consumer of translation in the world'.²¹⁰ Although, as already mentioned, in 1938 the regime introduced special legislation concerning the publication of translations and the so called 'bonifica libraria', Beecher Stowe's book continued to be published and appeared in four editions for adult readership between 1938 and 1944.

The success of UTC among the young under the regime is noticeable: 17 out of the 26 editions for children of the twentieth century were published during the Ventennio. However, the most successful editions were still those by Paravia, Bemporad and Vallardi, all publishers that had already started to address young audiences since the beginning of the century. Only two new firms began to issue editions for children during the Ventennio: 'Educazioni Educative Economiche' in 1939 and Salani, already a publisher of multiple editions of UTC for adults, in 1940.²¹¹ Therefore, it can be said that the fortune of UTC as a book for children began in Italy in the first decade of the twentieth century and was then greatly

²⁰⁷ The shaping of the new man was part of a broader project, which aimed to create 'new men and women, a new ethos, a new culture'. In Berezin, *Making the Fascist Self*, p. 4.

²⁰⁸ Franco Ciarlantini, 'Il convegno degli editori e librai a Firenze, 26-9 maggio 1932', *Giornale della libreria*, XLV, 4 June 1932 n. 23, p. 159, quoted in *Storia degli editori*, p. 230.

²⁰⁹ Already in 1905, nine out of the 16 best selling novels of the distributor Barbini were foreign works. See Forgacs, *L'industrializzazione*, p. 31.

²¹⁰ Rundle, *Publishing Translation*, p. 45. Refer to this volume for detailed figures of translations published in Italy compared with France and Germany (pp. 48-49, 52-53).

²¹¹ 'La casa editrice Salani riusciva a far coincidere il territorio della letteratura popolare con quello dei libri per bambini'. In Ada Gigli Marchetti, *Libri buoni e a buon prezzo: le edizioni Salani catalogo storico (1862-1986)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2011), p. 29.

reinforced by Fascism. Critics of literature for children during the Ventennio confirmed the opinions of Maria Bersani and Ettore Fabietti on UTC. The book was considered 'una lettura insuperabilmente attraente e istruttiva per giovani di tutte le età'.²¹² UTC was also reckoned exceeding *Ben Hur* 'per diffusione ed effetti civili', but was not flawless: 'straordinari i casi, commoventi le situazioni, ma vi è un eccesso di sentimentalismo e un procedere dimesso che toglie agilità al racconto'.²¹³

Besides the attention that the regime paid to education, two further factors led the genre to gain such high importance during Fascism. The first was the profit that publishers could gain from this new market segment; the second was the Gentile Reform (1923),²¹⁴ which made literature for children a mandatory subject for aspiring primary school teachers. However, the increasing relevance of this genre in political and commercial terms did not correspond to its legitimation. For Benedetto Croce, the leading literary critic of the time, the only value of a work of art was an aesthetic one. Therefore, literature for children could not exist:

Basta il semplice riferimento al pubblico bambinesco, come ad un dato fisso di cui faccia d'uopo tenere stretto conto, per turbare il lavoro artistico, e introdurvi ora qualcosa di superfluo ora di manchevole, non ubbidiente più alla libertà e necessità interna della visione.²¹⁵

The regime focused its attention also on foreign authors of literature for children. This issue was tackled during the 'Convegno Nazionale per la letteratura infantile' that took place in Bologna in 1938. Nazareno Padellaro's intervention on translations and abridgements for children stressed the dangers of foreign books for children, since they

²¹² Olindo Giacobbe, *Note di letteratura infantile* (Rome: Giorgio Berlutti, 1923), p. 172.

²¹³ Olga Visentini, *Libri e ragazzi: storia della letteratura infantile e giovanile* (Milan: Mondadori, 1936), p. 378.

²¹⁴ New book series for children appeared after this reform, but literature for children was still considered mostly for its educational purpose. See Sabrina Fava, *Percorsi critici di letteratura per l'infanzia tra le due guerre* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2004), p. 91.

²¹⁵ Benedetto Croce, *Luigi Capuana-Neera*, in *La critica* (Bari: Laterza, 1912), III, pp. 352-53.

spostano definitivamente il centro d'interesse nativo e contribuiscono a mortificare le esigenze nascenti e fondamentali dello spirito, disorientano, talora irreparabilmente, sovrapponendo fantasmi e sentimenti che si agglutinano in abiti mentali di altre razze e cadono così profondamente nella coscienza da non essere più estirpabili.²¹⁶

Moreover, in his opinion 'libri mediocri di Italiani' were better than 'libri famosi di scrittori famosi ma stranieri'.²¹⁷ However, Beecher Stowe was not even on the list of dangerous authors (which did include less translated authors such as Lewis Carroll or Louisa May Alcott).²¹⁸ Between 1938 and the end of the regime, seven editions of UTC for children were published.

The transnational analysis of the history of publishing of UTC has highlighted points of convergence and divergence between Italy on the one hand, and UK and France on the other. Italy aligned with the other two European countries in the immediate reception of Beecher Stowe's novel and in marketing it through advertisements in the newspapers and stage adaptations. An important distinction is found in the overall number of editions produced from 1852 to 1945. Editions targeting a young audience were more widespread in all the countries in the twentieth century, but overall figures describe a different situation. While in the UK and France, UTC was published more in the second half of the nineteenth century than in the first half of the twentieth, in Italy the situation was the opposite.

The book gained immense popularity once it arrived in Italy, a country divided and dominated by foreign nations at that time, and was interpreted politically as a symbol of victory against oppression. However, the publication of editions lost momentum in the years around the unification of Italy (1854-68),

²¹⁶ Padellaro, 'Traduzioni e riduzioni', pp. 39-40.

²¹⁷ Padellaro, 'Traduzioni e riduzioni', p. 42.

²¹⁸ In the time frame under examination *Alice in Wonderland* was published six times, while 12 editions/reprints of *Little Women* were produced. *Alice* was criticised since 'l'atmosfera d'incubo che grava sulla vicenda finisce col deformare quel senso plastico delle cose e quindi quel giudizio obiettivo di esse, che è il dono innato di tutti gl'Italiani'. Alcott was considered dangerous inasmuch as she 'fa della promiscuità dei sessi un canone educativo, slargando il limite della libertà oltre il credibile e garantendo che tutto finisce bene'. In Padellaro, 'Traduzioni e riduzioni', pp. 39-40. The criticism levelled at these works did not necessarily have real consequences; *Alice in Wonderland* and *Little Women* continued to circulate after 1938. For the history of publishing of *Alice in Wonderland* during the regime, see: Sinibaldi, *Between Censorship and Propaganda*.

with a consequent drop in their production. From then onwards the increase of editions was steady and, not only were Italian editions of this novel flourishing in the twentieth century, but specifically the decades of the Ventennio marked a zenith in the publication of UTC editions, with 25 editions put out in the 1920s and 22 in the 1930s, 17 of which were targeting a young audience.

CHAPTER 2

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ADVERTISEMENTS

2.1 External features: book covers and advertisements

Illustrated books contain pictures that are subordinated to the words and do not have to fill the gaps of meaning that the verbal text leaves open. This dependence on the written text and therefore this ostensible ancillary function of images in illustrated books do not, nonetheless, limit their power. Pictures are able to show more than words can express, since they 'inevitably contains more visual information than necessary for the verbal message it accompanies'.²¹⁹ Furthermore, not only do 'illustrated versions amplify different aspects of the text, which considerably affects our perception of the story and our reaction to it',²²⁰ but also different artists who illustrate the same story may indeed 'impart different interpretations to the text'.²²¹ Additionally, pictures interrupt the linear flow of the reading and force readers to pause, thus actively involving them and providing extra material relevant to the interpretation of the book.

As Ferrand points out, pictures 'act as ambassadors for authors and their works, mediate between texts and their new audiences, and create new levels of meaning'.²²² Their complex role in addressing different readerships and in shaping the meaning of written texts is all the more tangled when illustrated texts are translated. In this case different scenarios can happen: translated texts, in fact, can use the same images of the original, adapt existing images to a new audience or generate new images. Pictures in illustrated translations are far from being doubly subordinated to the written text, the original and the translation. On the contrary,

illustrations often enact processes of formal and conceptual transformation which require no less creative effort than those involved in the original writing. [...] At times, the creations resulting from these efforts are so inventive and remarkable that they

²¹⁹ Nodelman, *Words about Pictures*, p. 212.

²²⁰ Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott, *How Picturebooks work* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), p. 51.

²²¹ Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks*, p. 8.

²²² Nathalie Ferrand, 'Translating and Illustrating the Eighteenth-century Novel', *Word & Image*, 30.3 (2014), 181-93 (p. 181).

come to challenge the notion of originality and to acquire prominence over their sources.²²³

Because they can address a much wider audience than the actual readers of a given text, book covers are an extremely effective paratextual element in spreading a specific image of a text. In this respect, the case of UTC is particularly significant, since from the mid-nineteenth century this book 'is the key site for the examination of what popular audiences [...] wanted to see as, and what publishers wanted to impose upon, the representation of blacks'.²²⁴ The examination of cover illustrations of its reprinted editions therefore allows us to gauge developments in the representation and understanding of race, 'since how and why titles have been repackaged say much about the cultural and social uses of texts'.²²⁵ Book advertisements, on the other hand, are important for a number of reasons. Firstly, they are a tool through which persuade readers to buy other books; they are part of 'the symbols and messages that surround people about products and services that they buy and use'.²²⁶ Secondly, they can help us to identify the different segments of the audience targeted by the publishers.

The following analysis will consider editions of UTC included in the corpus and published during the Ventennio, but it will also make focused references to previous editions consulted when these are relevant in order to contextualise better the editions issued under Fascism (for instance when the samples of the corpus consulted lack some paratextual elements, which are present in previous editions issued by the same publishers). Subsequently, the discussion will focus in particular on three pairs of editions: Bemporad 1920²²⁷ – Nerbini 1928, Sonzogno 1930 – Hoepli 1940 and Salani 1940 – Paravia 1940.

Most of the editions in the corpus presented UTC as a foreign book, starting with the cover, which always displays the name of Harriet Beecher Stowe. The only

²²³ Alice Colombo, 'Rewriting Gulliver's Travels under the Influence of J. J. Grandeville's Illustrations', *Word & Image*, 30.4 (2015), 401-15 (p. 401).

²²⁴ Wood, *Blind Memory*, p. 143.

²²⁵ Mandy Reid, 'Racial Profiling: Visualizing Racial Science on the Covers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 1852-1928', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 30.4 (2008), 369-87 (p. 372).

²²⁶ Joseph Turow and Matthew P. McAllister, 'General Introduction' in *The Advertising and Consumer Culture Reader* by the same authors (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-8 (p. 3).

²²⁷ The 1920 Bemporad edition was selected since those issued in 1930 and 1937 are reprints, and the samples consulted did not show a cover, or advertisements at the end of the book.

exceptions are the Salani 1940 edition for children, where it is completely omitted,²²⁸ as well as Nerbini's 1928 non-abridged edition and Paravia's 1940 edition, where her name appears only on the inner cover. However, Beecher Stowe's name is often Italianised as Enrichetta, or written only with its first initial; here the exceptions are the Hoepli editions²²⁹ issued during the Fascist period, in which the author's name, Harriet, is written on the cover. Four translations used in the editions selected are anonymous (Salani for children, Salani for adults, Bietti and Bemporad),²³⁰ while six (Sonzogno, Hoepli, Barion, Paravia and Nerbini, both abridged and non-abridged) are respectively attributed to Palmiro Premoli, Rachele Fulvia Saporiti, Mara Fabietti, Luigi di San Giusto (a pseudonym for the journalist and writer Luisa Gervasio, 1865-1936), Franco Bello and Sad.²³¹

The title of UTC oscillated during the nineteenth century,²³² and then stabilised in the Italian editions of the corpus as *La capanna dello zio Tom*, without any subtitle.²³³ In four cases the title is accompanied by indications of genre.²³⁴ Bietti 1934 indicated it with a general 'Romanzo',²³⁵ while the Nerbini abridgement of 1928 defined UTC as a novel and emphasised its popularity,²³⁶ using the verse 'Dal popolare romanzo di E. Beecher Stowe' to accompany the title. This edition continued to underline the success of the book on the inner cover, where UTC is described as the 'popolarissimo romanzo di Enrichetta Beecher Stowe'. The more expensive non-abridged Nerbini edition of the same year, on the other hand, pointed out the main themes of the book, which was referred to as 'Romanzo della schiavitù, dell'amore, della fede e della redenzione'.

The nine illustrated covers present in our corpus of UTC represent various moments and characters of the book. Salani 1922 and Bietti 1934 for adults, as

²²⁸ The names of the authors of the other books included in the same collection are omitted, too.

²²⁹ All Hoepli editions consulted (1912, 1923, 1928 and 1940) used the same translation by Rachele Fulvia Saporiti. The 1912 cover, however, turned Beecher Stowe's name into Italian.

²³⁰ The Bemporad translation is the same used in the Nerbini non-abridged edition, acknowledged by Sad.

²³¹ To Sad are attributed also other translations of classics published by Nerbini (e.g. *Around the World in Eighty Days* by Jules Verne).

²³² See section 1.4.1

²³³ Among the editions consulted, the only one with a subtitle is Paravia 1912, which displays the subtitle '*Racconto della vita dei Negri nell'America del Nord prima dell'abolizione della schiavitù*' in the inner cover.

²³⁴ The genre indication is a rhematic paratextual element because it announces what the book is. See Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 94-101.

²³⁵ The previous Bietti edition of 1911 described UTC as 'Romanzo popolare'.

²³⁶ For the consideration of UTC as a popular book by the Italian reception, see section 1.4.2

well as Salani 1940 for young audiences, chose to depict Tom with children on the book's cover. Salani 1922 (Image 1) displayed a bright-coloured cover representing Tom playing happily with his four children in his cabin, inviting therefore readers to look into the slave's life.²³⁷ Bietti 1934 (Image 2) and Salani 1940,²³⁸ conversely, portrayed Tom only with Eva. Despite sharing the same general subject, the two images give the scene a completely different atmosphere. Salani's cover for children chose the same carefree atmosphere of the 1922 cover, depicting two smiling characters looking at each other on a light blue background. On the other hand, Bietti's edition for adults represented the scene in which Tom and Eva sit at a table, and Eva helps Tom to write a letter for his wife, Chloe.²³⁹ In this cover illustration, Eva seems to speak and Tom looks as if he is listening. The setting and the behaviour of the two characters depicted in the image stress the educational dimension of the book, and, at the same time, place the white child in a position of superiority with respect to the black slave Tom. This image recalls pictures illustrating American editions of UTC where the two characters are sitting at the table. While Eva writes, Tom looks at her instead of the written words, dismissing therefore 'Tom's – and by extension, blacks' – potential to attain anything more than a rudimentary level of literacy'.²⁴⁰

Bemporad's volume for children and the two Nerbini 1928 editions chose to place on the cover the moment of Tom's martyrdom, underlying in different ways the religious dimension of the book.²⁴¹ The religious element is stressed also in the Salani cover of 1927 in which a young Tom is depicted while holding a Bible. Both Hoepli and Paravia 1940 for children highlighted the dramatic dimension of the book. Hoepli 1940 (Image 3) chose an image of cotton picking, an illustration very much used by the abolitionist propaganda.²⁴² It shows a cotton plantation where an old, inert Tom holds a basket of cotton and stands in front of a white man, who

²³⁷ The picture of Tom, his children and wife on the background of their cabin was the image used for its first American volume edition.

²³⁸ Salani and Paravia 1940 covers are described in detail in section 2.2.

²³⁹ It is worth noting that this same drawing already decorated an edition for children of UTC published in Milan by Paolo Carrara in 1888. See Appendix 1 (Italy) for more details of this edition.

²⁴⁰ Reid, 'Racial Profiling', 378.

²⁴¹ These two covers are described in detail in section 2.1.

²⁴² Wood, *Blind Memory*, p. 278.

seems about to whip him.²⁴³ Paravia symbolised the slavery theme through a red chain that occupies the central space of the cover.

Like these aforementioned covers of editions for children, Sonzogno editions for adults of 1900 and 1903 highlighted the slavery theme of UTC choosing a detail from a slave auction, where a white man, probably a slave trader, checks Tom's teeth. However, the 1930 Sonzogno edition displayed a completely different illustration (Image 4). The new cover foregrounded a sensationalist aspect of the book, portraying a scene taken from the story of Eliza and George, in which the slaveholder Tom Locker falls in a ravine while chasing them.²⁴⁴ In contrast to the previous two Twentieth-century editions, the 1930 one was part of the 'Biblioteca Romantica Illustrata'. This series encompassed a significant number of adventure books, both foreign and Italian, among which several books by Emilio Salgari. Therefore, it is probable that the publisher decided that a cover suggesting an adventure book would be more appealing to readers it was already targeting with the same series. With respect to this, it is also worth recalling that the racial theme could be easily looked at through the exotic lens, especially following a literary trend of the 1930s, when Italian writers of popular books and cartoonists often set their stories in exotic landscapes.²⁴⁵

Publishers that explicitly marketed the book for children, that is, Salani, Bemporad, Paravia and Hoepli, also continued to target a young audience in advertisements included in the book. Salani 1940 was part of the series for young readers 'I libri meravigliosi' and promoted the other three foreign classics encompassed in the same series: *I viaggi di Gulliver* (*Gulliver's Travels*), *Robinson Crusoe* and *L'isola del tesoro* (*Treasure Island*). The other three publishers included

²⁴³ The 1923 and 1928 Hoepli samples consulted have probably been bound for library use and do not show a cover. The choice of an illustrated cover was made, however, during the Ventennio. The 1912 edition's cover, in fact, was not illustrated, and mentioned just the name of the author, translator, and publisher of the book, as well as the number of illustrations inside the volume.

²⁴⁴ This cover is used also for the following 1939 edition.

²⁴⁵ Using this strategy, writers and cartoonists focused on the sensationalistic aspects of the stories, avoiding realistic references that could cause the censorship intervention. See Sinibaldi, 'Black and White Strips. La razza nei fumetti italiani tradotti durante il fascismo', in *Parlare di razza. La lingua del colore tra Italia e Stati Uniti*, ed. by Tatiana Petrovich Njegosh and Anna Sacchi (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2012), pp. 64-77, p. 71. Enzo Laforgia reminded how much Salgari's narrative was influenced by African travel writings, while overall the explorers' stories 'rispondevano bene alle attese di un pubblico popolare: le loro avventure, l'ambientazione, le bestie feroci, il confronto con popolazioni selvagge, rendevano l'esploratore una variante seducente dell'eroe di romanzo e feuilleton' in his 'Il colonialismo italiano spiegato ai fanciulli' in *Editori e piccoli lettori*, ed. by Luisa Finocchi and Ada Gigli Marchetti (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004), pp. 210-39 (pp. 211-12).

UTC in their general series, constituted both by foreign and Italian books for children. Bemporad's 'Nuova collezione di romanzi, racconti e avventure per la gioventù' published not only a large range of foreign books in translation (e.g. *Little Women*, *Snow White and Other Novellas*, *Peter Pan*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Don Quixote*, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*), but also Italian adventure stories, such as *Il deserto di ghiaccio* (1909) by Luigi Motta and *Le avventure di Fiammiferino* by Luigi Barzini (1909).²⁴⁶ The Paravia 1940 edition was part of the series 'Collana dei bei libri per fanciulli e giovinetti', directed by Maria Bersani.²⁴⁷ Bersani was also the author of the preface to this edition, in which the particular suitability of the book for young girls was clearly stressed. In that preface Beecher Stowe was considered one of the heroes 'che popolano i sogni di ogni giovane e particolarmente delle giovinette, che hanno nel mondo una grande missione d'amore'.²⁴⁸

In terms of marketing, this edition was associated with different novels with respect to those advertised by Salani and Bemporad. The books advertised in the Paravia volume featured a more noticeable sentimental aspect than those included in the Salani and Bemporad editions; they included, for instance, *Pattini d'argento* (*The Silver Skates*), *Senza famiglia* (*Nobody's Boy*), *Il piccolo lord* (*Little Lord Fauntleroy*); significantly, there were also traces of a religious dimension (*Le più belle leggende di Gesù* and *L'angelo scrisse "Maria" – Vita e leggende della Madonna* by Rosa Fumagalli).²⁴⁹ Sentiment and religion therefore seem to be considered largely appealing to young women audiences. Besides, the 1940 Paravia edition of UTC advertised some recent Italian works, for instance those by Daria Banfi

²⁴⁶ Luigi Motta (1881-1955), mostly a writer of adventure books, worked for Bemporad between 1921 and 1929. He published various books among which *Gli adoratori del fuoco* (1921) and *Il vortice del sud* (1927). Luigi Barzini (1874-1947) was a journalist for *Corriere della Sera*. His only book for children was *Le avventure di Fiammiferino*, which had a notable success and was translated into French and English.

²⁴⁷ Maria Bersani (1883-1971) was herself an author, a translator and a critic of literature for children. See section 1.4.2

²⁴⁸ Maria Bersani, 'Preface', in *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Turin: Paravia, 1940). Even though they were both published in 1940, the Paravia and Salani editions are very different. Salani's abridgement aimed to be a diversion for the readers, while Paravia's abridgement showed a strong educational aim. See section 2.3.

²⁴⁹ Rosa Fumagalli was a poet and writer for children, as well as a translator, who worked mostly for Paravia.

Malaguzzi,²⁵⁰ and various books included in the series *La Patria*, which recounted the history of Italy to children.²⁵¹

Hoepli's case shows that advertisements targeting a young audience were already well established before the Ventennio. Samples of the editions in the corpus consulted (1923, 1928 and 1940) did not show any of them. However, the first 1912 edition advertised UTC alongside works by Hauff, Andersen, Schmid, as well as Grimm's *Novelle* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, explicitly singling out young audiences.²⁵² Bietti 1934 and Nerbini's 1928 abridgement associated the book with historical novels. Bietti targeted mostly a female audience, advertising in its UTC edition the historical and moral books by Antonietta Klitsche de La Grange,²⁵³ written between the end of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Altogether with Paravia, therefore, Bietti seemed to consider UTC as appropriate reading for girls, due to its moral dimension.

Nerbini's abridgement presented, at the end of the volume, a sequence of novels involving famous historical personalities, from Julius Caesar and Scipio the African, to Garibaldi and Ettore Fieramosca.²⁵⁴ The collection 'I roghi' was also advertised on the same page by this publisher consisting of summaries of the lives of historical figures sent to the stake by the Church accused of heresy, such as Girolamo Savonarola, Arnaldo Da Brescia, Giordano Bruno and Jan Huss. These two lists of books are interesting because they presented the abridgement of UTC as a historical novel, at least by association. Furthermore, Nerbini's advertisement of 'I roghi' foregrounded the religious dimension of the book, which was highlighted in the cover, but it was toned down, as already noted, in the translator's preface.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Daria Banfi Malaguzzi was a writer for children whose work appeared in the Paravia collections directed by Maria Bersani.

²⁵¹ The titles advertised in this series are *Donne d'Italia*, *Jagul e Pali – Avventure preistoriche*, *Leggende d'Italia* and *Nel nome d'Italia – Eroi e martiri del Risorgimento*.

²⁵² Only the advertisement for Maria Pezzè Pascolato's translation of Andersen's *Short Stories* did not mention any specific audience.

²⁵³ Antonietta Klitsche de la Grange (1832-1912) was a prolific journalist and a writer of novels, historic tales and essays.

²⁵⁴ Among the works advertised there were anonymous (*Scipione l'Africano*, *Arduino d'Ivrea*, *Garibaldi e la sua epopea*) and acknowledged ones, such as *Giulio Cesare* and *I tre moschettieri* by Alexandre Dumas; *Quo Vadis* by Henryk Sienkiewicz, and a series of books by Cesare Ruberti written at the end of the nineteenth century and concerning some characters from Savoia's royal family from the twelfth (*Conte di Biancamano*) to the sixteenth century (*Testa di ferro*, namely Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia).

²⁵⁵ See section 1.4.2

The advertisement juxtaposed Uncle Tom with figures unjustly killed by the Church, associating him with martyrs.

The two most important publishers, Salani and Sonzogno, placed UTC in their general collections (respectively 'Biblioteca Economica' and 'Biblioteca Romantica Illustrata'). Salani 1922 advertised a long list of books, under the general title 'Storia, Classici, Romanzi, Opere di Amena lettura, Racconti storici, libri per tutti'. This was a very eclectic list of books, from Carolina Invernizio's volumes for women, to Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, to cookery books (e.g. Artusi's *La scienza in cucina o l'arte del mangiar bene*). Sonzogno 1930 placed UTC alongside historical novels (by Hugo and Dumas, among others), a high number of feuilletons by Eugene Sue, Ponson du Terrail and Xavier de Montépén,²⁵⁶ and also adventure novels by both Italian and foreign authors.

The last noteworthy case is Nerbini's 1928 non-abridged edition. This edition for adults stands out because the book, at least when first published,²⁵⁷ was associated with publications that also referred young addressees. The back cover of the first two instalments advertised Italian and foreign publications, among which some adventures of Pinocchio, namely 'Pinocchiate';²⁵⁸ *Le straordinarie avventure di Masino Lupinella* first published in *Il giornale di Fortunello*; (whose subtitle significantly was 'Diverte i ragazzi e fa ridere i grandi');²⁵⁹ and the comics *Buffalo Bill* and *Petrosino. Contro mafia, camorra e mano nera*.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Sonzogno and Salani published all the major popular French novels which were critiqued by Antonio Gramsci in his discussion of popular literature in Italy, and which raised the concern of the regime (e.g. novels by Hugo, Sue, Montepén, Dumas, Ponson du Terrail, Bousсенard). See Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni dal carcere*, 3 vol., pp. 2120-21. The novels by de Montépén were also advertised in a separate section on the page before the inner cover of UTC.

²⁵⁷ The Nerbini non-abridged edition consulted preserved only the page of book advertisement placed at the end of the first two instalments.

²⁵⁸ The adventures of Pinocchio advertised here include 33 titles, such as *Pinocchio poliziotto*, *Pinocchio ciclista*, *Pinocchio a Roma*. On 'Pinocchiate' and their success in Italy and abroad, see Daniela Marcheschi, 'Le tradizioni in Pinocchio, le tradizioni da Pinocchio', in *Intorno a Pinocchio*, ed. by Aldo Capasso (Rome: Armando, 2008), pp. 21-24 and Sinibaldi, *Between Censorship and Propaganda*, chap. 2 (pp. 81-131).

²⁵⁹ *Il giornale di Fortunello* was published by Nerbini between 1920 and 1923. *Le straordinarie avventure di Masino Lupinella* - later published in *Topolino* - was a comic that recounted the adventures of a young boy in the form of a nursery rhyme.

²⁶⁰ *Petrosino* told of the adventures inspired by the real Giuseppe "Joe" Petrosino (1860-1909), an Italian immigrant police agent who fought the Mafia in New York and was killed in Palermo. However, the adventures of Petrosino published by Nerbini were set in Sicily. The advertisement stated that 'in questi fascicoli sono raccontate le più straordinarie audacie, astuzie ed atti di coraggio del celebre agente palermitano precursore della lotta contro la delinquenza che teneva soggette ed incatenate le generose popolazioni delle due Sicilie, oggi finalmente redente dall'opera

2.2 The Bemporad-Nerbini and Hoepli-Sonzogno editions

The pairs of editions of UTC that will be analysed in this section share, significantly, paratextual elements targeting at the same time adults and young. The first two editions consist of the Bemporad edition of 1920 and the Nerbini edition of 1928. The second pair comprises the Sonzogno edition of 1930 and the Hoepli edition of 1940. Apart from the Nerbini edition, none of them is a first edition.²⁶¹

The Bemporad-Nerbini pair share the highest level of textual and paratextual material. Both editions use the same translation, the same footnotes and the same illustrations, and while their two illustrated covers are different, even here both represent the scene of Tom's death. The Bemporad edition was in the 'Nuova collezione di romanzi, racconti e avventure per la gioventù' series,²⁶² which published books by famous authors for young audiences, and was presented as an abridged version of the English edition. Nerbini's non-abridged edition of 1928 was not part of any series and was presented as 'Nuova traduzione con 50 disegni originali del pittore T. Moro'. The price of the books, printed on the cover, was L. 3.50 for the Bemporad volume and 1 lira for each the two instalments with Nerbini. The Nerbini non-abridged 1928 edition and the Bemporad 1920 edition differ in the number of illustrations displayed. While the Nerbini edition had a full set of illustrations, Bemporad's 1920 volume (and also the 1910 edition) had only 16 (later reprints issued in 1930 and 1937 had even fewer). One reason for this difference can be found in the serialisation of the Nerbini edition, since every instalment required at least one picture. It is probable that a set of illustrations was already complete in 1910. The illustrator, despite the initial 'T.' on the inside cover of the Nerbini version, was Ferruccio Moro, who worked on books and periodicals for children, born in 1859. His date of birth strengthens this hypothesis. Even though he could still have been working in 1928, this is not very probable. However, it is also possible that Bemporad issued another, more

vigorosa del Governo fascista'. It is worth noting the propaganda in favour of the regime that pervades the advertisement.

²⁶¹ The first Bemporad edition dates back to 1910, Sonzogno's to 1903 and Hoepli's to 1912.

²⁶² On this series, see section 1.4.1

expensive, edition, with all the illustrations before the Nerbini edition of 1928.²⁶³ The low price of the Bemporad edition was not only in comparison with Nerbini's, but also based on the advertisement displayed on the cover: 'Tutti possono leggere le edizioni Bemporad'. The series title 'Nuova collezione di romanzi, racconti e avventure per la gioventù' points to the audience. In Nerbini's case, the ideal addressee of the book was stated in the translator's preface: 'Opere, dunque, come quella della Capanna, possono con efficace proposito, essere diffuse tra il popolo'.²⁶⁴

The covers of both display a scene with religious overtones of Tom being beaten. The anonymous illustration in the Bemporad volume represents the scene in a subtler, but also more powerful way (Image 5). Tom is on the floor on the left hand side where the light is, looking up at his persecutor, in a pose that reminds us of a saints' martyrdom, especially of the 'Martirio di S. Matteo' (1600-1601) by Caravaggio and the 'Martirio di S. Stefano' (between 1569 and 1571) by Giorgio Vasari. Giove Toppi (1889-1942) was the illustrator for Nerbini's cover. He often worked for this publisher, for publications aimed at different types of audiences, ranging from *Topolino* to *Le avventure poliziesche di Sherlock Holmes*, but also for 'romanzi d'appendice'.²⁶⁵ In Toppi's drawing the religious element of the book is represented more directly, whilst the preface of the same edition invited the reader to go beyond Tom's religiousness:²⁶⁶ Tom is praying, with his hands together, and is looking at the sky, surrounded by black men (Image 6).

As Wood points out, the 'visual representation of the tortured slave body within Western aesthetic [...] is intimately linked to Christian martyrdom'.²⁶⁷ However, the two images differ in key elements as they provide two completely different representations of the Other, and also two different ways of interpreting the novel. On the Bemporad cover there is a manifest accusation of white men,

²⁶³ This hypothesis cannot be proved, since the Bemporad archive, nowadays owned by Giunti publisher, does not store any documentation about the history of these illustrations.

²⁶⁴ Sad, 'Avvertenza', in *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Florence: Nerbini, 1928). The preface confirms the popular character of UTC translations.

²⁶⁵ Giove Toppi apart from being an illustrator of 'romanzi d'appendice' published by Nerbini, was also a prolific illustrator of comics by the same publisher, e.g. *Topolino*, *L'uomo mascherato*, *Mandrake*. For more details on Toppi's drawing style see Antonio Faeti, *Guardare le figure* (Rome: Donzelli, 2011), pp. 348-50.

²⁶⁶ See section 1.4.2

²⁶⁷ Wood, *Blind Memory*, p. 241. In chapter 5 'Slavery, Punishment and Martirology', Wood analyses the Western representation of slave torture in the art and literature, linking it to the powerful iconography of the passion of Christ and the martyrdom of saints.

seen as responsible for Tom's death. Even though only the man who is beating Tom and another black slave are armed, a white man stands in the background, looking on, while one of the black slaves seems to be waiting for orders. Nerbini's cover omits the presence of any white men. All Tom's persecutors are black: the man who is about to whip him, as well as the others, looking on. All the black men are represented in a grotesque way, with big noses and lips. There are traces of blood on the ground and on Tom's face and body. The scene is clearly influenced by the 'popular' nature of Nerbini editions, in particular by 'romanzi d'appendice', 'un settore dominato dal rifacimento', in which 'non si fa che riprodurre in esso, sotto le sembianze e i costumi più diversi un'unica eterna storia dosaggio di sangue, sesso, mistero, avventura'.²⁶⁸ However, this edition, at least at first, was not marketed with this type of novels, but rather with publications that were aimed (at least partly, if not exclusively) at young audiences, as we have already noted.

The second example concerns two editions of UTC published by Sonzogno in 1930 and by Hoepli in 1940. Sonzogno's 1930 edition displays the version of Palmiro Premoli.²⁶⁹ It was included in the series 'Biblioteca Romantica Illustrata' and addressed to an adult audience. Hoepli published the same translation, by Fulvia, in all its editions of UTC (1912, 1923, 1928 and 1940). Their two covers are completely different. As already mentioned, Hoepli's 1940 edition represented a scene from a cotton plantation, while Sonzogno focused on the adventures of Elisa and George. The inside illustrations, which represent the shared area between these two editions, have a particular story, which began in Sweden, travelled to the UK and the USA, and eventually arrived in Italy.

These pictures were drawn by a Swedish illustrator, Jenny Nystrom-Stoopendaal, and engraved by Claude Ferdinand Gaillard.²⁷⁰ They appeared for the first time in a Swedish edition of 1895, published in Gothenburg by T. Hedlund. Cassell & Co. in London issued an edition in English in 1896 (reprinted in 1899 and 1900). In 1897 three editions containing these illustrations appeared in the USA. The first was a reprinting of the 1896 Cassell edition, issued for the Winston's

²⁶⁸ Faeti, *Guardare le figure*, p. 350.

²⁶⁹ Palmiro Premoli (1856-1917) was the founder and director of the *Enciclopedia popolare illustrata Sonzogno* (1896-99) and, until 1917, also the director of the *Grande enciclopedia popolare Sonzogno*.

²⁷⁰ The history of how the Swedish illustrations were included in US editions can be found at <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/uncletom/illustra/97billf.html>> [accessed May 2015]

International Publishing Co. Edition in Philadelphia. The other two were reprints of the Swedish edition in Swedish, one by Winston, and the other by A. P. Lundborg in Worcester, Massachusetts. Nystrom-Stoopendaal's illustrations were used also in the 1902 Swedish language edition of UTC published in Chicago by Hemlandet, the first Swedish language newspaper in the USA. This volume was part of a series of annual 'Premium' books which the newspaper offered at reduced prices to its subscribers, many of whom were immigrants from Sweden who had moved recently to the Midwest. One year later, the same images appeared in the first Sonzogno edition of 1903; and they continued to illustrate the book until 1939.

Captions to the illustrations in both the Hoepli and the Sonzogno Italian editions repeated the words of the translations they accompanied and played a key role in the interpretation of these images. Attention will be focused here in particular on two images dealing with the representation of the black Other and accompanied by different captions taken from the correspondent translations. The first image represents Tom at his kitchen table with George, his master's son, who is teaching him to read and write (Image 7). Since the beginning of the history of publishing of UTC, the representation of the black literacy was a controversial theme. As Hochman maintained, although 'in theory in the 1890s African American were legally entitled to literacy', black literacy was still a debatable issue.²⁷¹ As a consequence, for instance, the 1892 edition illustrated by Kemble and the version for children entitled *Young Folks Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1901), omit any illustration regarding the episodes of black literacy and limit the representation of moments of interracial contact.²⁷²

The caption in the Winston's International Publishing Edition is 'Not that way, Uncle Tom!'.²⁷³ The corresponding Sonzogno caption is the translation 'Così non va bene, zio Tom' (p. 13), while the Hoepli text reads 'Egli sta copiando attentamente su di una lavagna' (p. 22). In the Sonzogno caption, Tom is failing in his attempt to write, so that he receives a reproach of the white child. Hoepli stresses, instead, the effort Tom is to writing.

The second image shows Augustine St. Clare, Tom's last master, at his desk, talking to his cousin Ophelia about Topsy, the child slave whom Ophelia is raising

²⁷¹ Hochman, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 175.

²⁷² See Hochman, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 73, p. 196, p. 205.

²⁷³ <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/uncletom/illustra/97billf.html>> [accessed May 2015]

(Image 8). The Sonzogno caption is a literal translation: ‘Saint-Clare scrisse rapidamente un atto di donazione’ (p. 193),²⁷⁴ while the Hoepli caption is ‘Ho paura che sia necessario batterla’ (p. 200). These two captions depict the white characters as generous in the first case and strict in the second one, but they also show Topsy as either invisible or someone who deserves a whipping. Both these examples strengthen the importance of tracing the journey of pictures, as they travel quicker than texts, and of considering them as a transnational phenomenon. Moreover they show how much ‘an illustrated translation is [...] a particularly dynamic and malleable object’.²⁷⁵ While the visual narrative does not change in the Hoepli and Sonzogno editions, the use of different captions for the same images is still sufficient to provide specific episodes with a different interpretation. As a consequence, not only are translations and illustrations able ‘to remodel a source text and make significant changes to its appearance’,²⁷⁶ but also captions have the same power and need to be considered in a critical approach that considers the interplay between words and images.

2.3 The Salani and Paravia editions

The last two editions of UTC under examination were published by Salani and Paravia. Salani was a Florentine publisher founded in 1862. It targeted mainly a popular audience, but also identified, from the beginning, the young audience as an important sector of the market. This firm published Italian books alongside translations of very well-known foreign works for this type of addressee, and the educational aim of their production for a young audience was combined with exceptional attention devoted to the aesthetic aspect of the books. The attention paid to young readers increased, starting from the first postwar period, and it reached its peak during the Fascist regime. The acceptance of the cultural policy of the regime led the publishing house to launch new series for young readers.²⁷⁷ The second publishing house, Paravia, was founded in Turin in the nineteenth century.

²⁷⁴ The text of the Winston Publishing International Edition reads ‘St. Clare rapidly wrote off a deed of gift’ <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/uncletom/illustra/97billf.html>> [accessed May 2015]

²⁷⁵ Ferrand, ‘Translating and Illustrating’, 183.

²⁷⁶ Ferrand, ‘Translating and Illustrating’, 186.

²⁷⁷ Ada Gigli Marchetti, ‘La casa editrice Salani. Un secolo e mezzo di ‘buoni’ libri, in *Da Pinocchio a Harry Potter. 150 anni di illustrazione italiana dall’archivio Salani 1862-2012*, ed. by Giorgio Bacci (Milan: Salani, 2012), pp. 21-45.

From its inception, it published books and periodicals for children and young audiences. Most of its production was focused on publications for the school market alongside more entertaining literature for the young. Like Salani, Paravia supported the cultural policy of the regime during the Fascist Ventennio.²⁷⁸

The 1940 Salani edition of UTC is the first explicitly targeted to the young by this publisher and appears in the aforementioned series 'I libri meravigliosi'. The 1940 Paravia edition is part of the 'Collana dei bei libri per fanciulli e giovinetti', but it is a revised edition of the first edition dating to 1913, which was translated by Luigi di S. Giusto. Various editions followed that first one (1921 and 1923), and from 1935 onwards the book was explicitly marketed as a revised edition of the version by Luigi di S. Giusto. The differences between the 1913 and the 1940 editions are textual and paratextual. The textual differences concern grammatical and lexical adjustments (e.g. the turning of the past tense into the present, simplification of sentences, changes in the allocutive agreements and substitution of words with synonyms). Concerning the paratext, the 1940 re-edition displays a completely different set of illustrations with respect to the 1913 edition. The first edition had a cover illustrating the escape of Eliza and her child, a larger number of illustrations by an anonymous artist, most of them within the text, which had a higher decorative effect compared to the 1940 ones. The choice of the 1940 Salani and Paravia editions issued from their contemporary marketing, which was arguably significant in their attempt to attract the young audience through different strategies. Furthermore, the 1940 Paravia edition appears with a new cover, not only with respect to 1913, but also to the 1935 version that represented Tom, in chains, looking sadly at the reader, with a book (allegedly the Bible) in his hands and with his cabin and his family in the background.

The paratext of these editions highlights some significant differences. Overall, Salani's version is much shorter and with larger fonts than Paravia's one. It is an anonymous abridgement without preface and index and contains advertisements of other books published in the same series. The 1940 Paravia edition contains advertisements for another series, constituted by four books

²⁷⁸ See Paola Casana, *La casa editrice Paravia: due secoli di attività: 1802-1984* (Turin: Paravia, 1984).

aiming to narrate Italy to children from different point of views.²⁷⁹ This same edition also contains an index, a portrait of Harriet Beecher Stowe and a preface by the director of the series, Maria Bersani. The preface gives some brief information on Beecher Stowe's life and promotes her as a heroine for young girls who have the mission to spread love in the world. Bersani continues underlining the sentiment of Christian pity that pervades the author's gaze towards the victims, as well as towards the torturers, and gives thanks to Beecher Stowe who managed to contribute to the end of slavery in the USA.²⁸⁰ From this overall paratextual presentation, these two editions already herald two different reading experiences. Salani presents itself as devoid of any explicit educational aim towards the reader. It does not provide any background information either on the novel, or the author; additionally, given the font size and the shortness of the book, it perhaps addresses itself to a younger reader than Paravia. Paravia, on the contrary, frames itself as an educational reading that aims to inform readers on the theme of slavery and helps them to contextualize the novel.

Carlo Nicco (1883-1973) and Fiorenzo Faorzi (1911-2001) are, respectively, the illustrators of the Paravia and Salani editions. Both of them had an artistic background, were well-known book illustrators, working respectively for the two publishers, and had already illustrated propagandistic works for children. In 1934 Nicco illustrated with photographs and drawings *Guerra e fascismo*, a volume that explained to the young the governmental system.²⁸¹ Faorzi illustrated *Saettino puro sangue meneghino*, a book written by Gino Chelazzi and published by Salani in 1937, that recounted the vicissitudes of a proud *balilla*. The two illustrators have a completely different style. Nicco is very attentive to historical details, and draws images with clear contours, but at the same he re-elaborates the story and the places where it is set so as to be defined as a co-author of the books he illustrates.²⁸² On the contrary, Faorzi draws stylised characters on a white background, using the chiaroscuro technique, just sketching the setting and isolating them from the context.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ These volumes recount the story of Italy focusing on Italian legends, famous Italian women and heroes and martyrs of the Risorgimento.

²⁸⁰ Bersani, 'Preface', in *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Turin: Paravia, 1940).

²⁸¹ *Guerra e fascismo*, ed. by Leo Pollini (Turin: UTET, 1934).

²⁸² Faeti, *Guardare le figure*, pp. 286-88.

²⁸³ Faeti, *Guardare le figure*, pp. 318-21.

Salani and Paravia's covers conveyed two opposite ideas of Beecher Stowe's novel. The 1940 Paravia cover (Image 9) keeps the dramatic tone of the one from 1935 but becomes more conceptual. A red chain, a clear symbol for slavery, occupies the central space of the blue cover. The title of the book, the name of the author and the name of the publisher are also in red capital fonts, thereby emphasising the chromatic contrast. Before the beginning of the text, on the front endpapers, we find a red tree with fruits on its branches, the name of the series and that of its director at the bottom of the page. Relying on the metaphor of the tree growing as children grow, the front endpaper represents visually the educational aim of the series. The persistence of the colour red in the front endpapers might even be interpreted as a reference to the chain on the book cover, in order to underline that the educational experience revolves around the theme of slavery.

Moving to Salani's cover (Image 10), the different editorial approach to the book is remarkable. On the light blue cover, a stereotypical Tom stands close to a white blond child with a bunch of flowers in her hands. The two are looking each other in the eyes. Tom wears a white shirt and a red neckerchief, recalling an attire mentioned in two works of colonial literature for children: *Le strepitose avventure di Pistacchio alla guerra di Libia* by Ildebrando Bencivenni and published by the same Salani in 1914 and *Un balilla all'equatore. Diario di un caposquadra* by Augusta Perricone Violà, published by Cappelli in 1936. In the first case, the puppet Pistacchio asks to be dressed in white with a red embellishment before going to war, as these are the Italian colours.²⁸⁴ In the second book mentioned, a colonised black man is given a white shirt and a red tie by the white protagonist of the story.²⁸⁵

The title of the book is printed in capital letters and the name of the series in which it is published in italics, but the name of the author is omitted. The illustration continues on the back cover where the light blue becomes the sky of a cover, we find the first full-page colour image that represents Eliza and her child

²⁸⁴ 'Vestimi di bianco e mettimi una guarnizione rossa [...] [Il verde, il bianco e il rosso] sono i colori di casa nostra'. Ildebrando Bencivenni, *Le strepitose avventure di Pistacchio alla guerra di Libia* (Florence: Salani, 1914), p. 20 quoted in Enzo R. Laforgia 'Il colonialismo italiano spiegato ai fanciulli', in *Editori e piccoli lettori*, pp. 210-239 (p. 221).

²⁸⁵ Augusta Perricone Violà, *Un balilla all'equatore. Diario di un caposquadra* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1936), p. 62 quoted in *Fuori Campo. Letteratura e giornalismo nell'Italia coloniale 1920-1940*, ed. by Monica Venturini (p. 65).

escaping. The inside cover shows again the title of the novel, then for the first time the name of the author and an illustration depicting Tom's house. In the page after the inside cover, there is a portrait of Tom smiling and his face guides us in a story that seems to have substituted the slavery theme with homesickness. Not only is the house depicted on the inside cover, but, moving our glance from the left to the right side of the page, we see Tom and his wife, both smiling, looking dreamily at their house. At this point, the actual story begins with a description of the miserable conditions of life for the black slaves in mid-nineteenth America. The image of Tom smiling, therefore, acts as a counterpoint to the narration and the drawing depicting Tom and his wife looking at their house minimises the dramatic words that open the Salani abridgement. This edition directly addresses the young readers from the cover, but does not explicitly state any educational aim towards them. Its opening illustrations show a novel centred on the themes of motherhood and homesickness instead of the drama of slavery.

As far as the illustrations included within the body of the books is concerned, the first major difference between the two editions concerns their number. Paravia's volume has 12 black-and-white framed full-page images, while Salani's edition has a set of nine full-page images (five in black-and-white and four in colour), but also 32 unframed illustrations inserted on the page within the text.²⁸⁶ Despite the traditional layout of Paravia's illustrations, which creates a higher sense of distance and detachment with respect to Salani, the edition from Turin displays small drawings at the end of some of the chapters (a house, a cross and a Bible, chains, a basket with cotton, a boat), trying to summarise their core themes. For instance, chains are put at the end of chap. 9, when Tom is sold by his master to a slave trader, while a cross and a Bible are inserted at the end of chap. 19 and 27, featuring respectively Eva's and Tom's death. Again, Paravia confirms its pedagogical goal making the readers dwell on the main topic of the chapters before moving to the following ones.

The different selection of scenes represented and the different style of the illustrators, briefly summarized earlier, both have some consequences for the interpretation of the book and tally with the first impressions provided by the

²⁸⁶ On the different effects that framed and unframed illustrations in picture books have on the readers, see Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks*, pp. 44, 62.

book covers and opening paratextual elements. Faorzi only sketches the setting making it quite similar to the American western comics. Therefore, he decontextualises the story and presents it as a venturesome tale. In this sense, the setting conveys more than the sense of time and place of the action, but to some extent 'establish[es] the genre expectations of the work'.²⁸⁷ This detachment from the historical and geographical context was already evident from the undefined bucolic background of Salani's cover. On the one hand, illustrations of disturbing episodes, such as Eva and Tom's death, are omitted, and there is not a single image of a slave auction in the whole story. On the other hand, however, the adventurous element plays an important role in this illustrated version through the images depicting Eliza and George chased by the slaveholders, the shooting between them and the stabbing of Eva's father. The Paravia edition, instead, stresses the dramatic side of the story. The first time we see Uncle Tom he is in his cabin, looking very concerned since Eliza is disclosing to him her escape plans and also news of his sale to a slave trader. The subsequent illustrations represent several tragic occurrences, among which is Eliza escaping from the slave trader, Uncle Tom carried away from his house, Eva's death, the boat that will lead Tom to the cotton plantation, Tom beaten by two other black slaves, and Tom dying. The only picture in which Tom seems to smile is during his first encounter with Eva. Paravia's illustrations do not spare the reader, even the young, or the most dramatic episodes of Beecher Stowe's novel, nor do they, sweeten the story because the reader is exhorted to reflect on the harsh implications of slavery.

If we look at the very last images of each version, it is worth noticing that the Paravia edition depicts Tom dying (Image 11). By contrast, though the Salani abridgement ends with the image of a wood close to a river where Tom is allegedly buried, the drawing does not indicate what that place represents (Image 12). Moreover, the last proper characters we see before this final illustration are Eliza and George: he is portrayed while working, whereas she looks after their children. The text accompanying these two images underlines that Eliza also took care of their nice house, which provided with all comforts and protected by God. Eliza and George's happy ending seems to counterbalance the homesickness that opened the Salani edition. This visual emphasis on the positive conclusion of the second plot of

²⁸⁷Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks*, p. 61.

UTC and the omission of an image representing Tom dying show a version unburdened from the most dramatic episodes and therefore apt to appear in a series including adventurous classics for a young audience.²⁸⁸

Furthermore, it seems that the Salani edition, through Faorzi's illustrations, provides an image of Tom as a playmate. The first full-page image in the Salani version represents Tom smiling, sitting at the table of his kitchen with little George. While in the original book, George is teaching Tom to read and write, in the Salani abridgement there is no trace, neither in the text nor in the image, of this activity; the two are just having dinner together. The second full-page portrait of Tom is a coloured out-of-text drawing in which Tom, with a big smile on his face, shows a puppet to Eva on the boat. This image is put in chap. 9 of the abridgement that concerns Tom's departure from Shelby's house and therefore anticipates events happening later in the story. Interestingly enough, it is placed just before an in-text, black-and-white image in which Tom reproaches George. In the text accompanying this picture, the child swears to kill the slave trader who bought Tom. The slave tries to dissuade George and invites him to respect God's will. The image that illustrates this passage emphasises Tom's scolding and represents him pointing his finger towards George while speaking. The following insertion of the coloured illustration in which Tom is playing with Eva seems to tone down this less reassuring representation of Tom and to reaffirm him as a peaceful and benevolent character. It is no coincidence that a very similar scene was also conceived as a black and white in-text illustration in chap. 11, which tells of the first encounter between Tom and Eva. In the whole Salani edition this is the only case in which the same scene is in a full-text and in an in-text illustration. The duplication of the same image with small amendments shows the emphasis of this version on the mild character of Tom, and the position of the full-page one reinforces this aim.

Images displayed in the Paravia and Salani editions examined seem to put into practice contradictory statements during the Fascist regime regarding illustrated books. Overall, interventions around illustrations affirmed the importance of this artistic device in books for the young audience. It was stated

²⁸⁸ Both the omission of disturbing episodes and the accentuation of the adventurous aspects of the text are typical of child-adapted versions, according to Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks*, p. 42.

that illustrations had to be a natural complement to the narration, to be clear and convincing, but not pedantic.²⁸⁹ Basic illustrations that privileged the representation of the characters and their actions were preferred to drawings full of landscape details.²⁹⁰ Illustrators' tendency to adapt their drawings too closely to children was frowned upon, since the young wanted to be taken seriously and did not stand things being made deliberately for them.²⁹¹ On the one hand, it was maintained that there was no need for illustrators to distort the truth of the stories on purpose. At the same time, however, a certain degree of softening of some aspects of tales for children was allowed. Effectively, it was advised for illustrations in books for young readers to find a balance between the educational and entertaining aim, since 'una pagina che, invece di tenere il broncio, sappia sorridere, conquista per sempre'.²⁹²

While the first publisher stresses the serious theme of the book, without distorting the truth of the story, Salani opts for a page that visually smiles at the young reader. Additionally, these two sets of illustrations appear to portray two coexisting attitudes within the Fascist regime towards the colonial adventure and the black people. Images displayed in Paravia's educational edition seem to make the reader aware of the tragedy of slavery and of its ultimate injustice. In this respect, one notes that the abolition of slavery in Africa was one of the reasons advanced to justify the Italian colonial adventure and that the Antislavery society (1888-1937) actively contributed to make it more palatable to Italian public opinion.²⁹³ Salani's illustrations focus, instead, on the alleged goodwill and cheerfulness of the black people, which was useful to explain their intellectual underdevelopment.²⁹⁴ The transformation of Tom into the playmate of Eva and George in the Salani edition aiming to entertain young readers resonates with the trope of the reduction of the black slave to a child-like status, a paradigm

²⁸⁹ Francesco Saporì, 'Illustrazioni di libri per l'infanzia', in *Convegno nazionale*, pp. 27-34 (pp. 29, 33).

²⁹⁰ Giuseppe Giovanazzi, 'Gusti letterari dei ragazzi' in *Convegno*, pp. 13-26 (pp. 16-17).

²⁹¹ Bino Sanminiatielli, 'Periodici e illustrazioni', in *Convegno nazionale*, pp. 181-87 (p. 183).

²⁹² Saporì, 'Illustrazioni di libri', p. 33.

²⁹³ Lorenzo Ettorre, 'La società antischiavista d'Italia (1888-1937)', *Studi Storici*, 3 (2012), 693-720.

²⁹⁴ See chap. 3 for Leonida Bissolati and Lidio Cipriani's theories postulating the inferiority of black people.

particularly used in the American editions of UTC for children and in pro-slavery rhetoric.²⁹⁵

From the book covers of UTC published during the Ventennio, it seems that Tom's identity boundaries are stretched to provide him with multiple identities for the Italian readership. Some editions erase his presence from the covers irrespective of their theme. In some others, he is variously depicted: as Eva's playmate (Salani 1940); as a man who wants to learn to read and write (Bietti 1934); as a family man who plays with his children (Salani 1922); as a religious man who prays for salvation staring at the sky (Salani 1927); and as a martyr (Bemporad 1920 and Nerbini 1928).

Examining the advertisements included in different editions also helps us to identify the audiences of UTC during the Fascist regime. The two biggest publishing houses of the period, Salani and Sonzogno, marketed Beecher Stowe's book in a wide range of editions appealing to various audiences. However, the smaller publishers encompassed in the corpus seem to have had a much more focused approach towards audiences, singling out women and children as ideal readers of UTC. Women, in particular, both young and adult, were considered an important audience for Beecher-Stowe's book (Bietti 1934 and Paravia 1940). With respect to young audiences, besides the editions explicitly aimed at them and which contained advertisements for the same kind of readers, it is worth underlining the highly nuanced situation of Nerbini's non-abridged edition, whose advertisements, aimed also at young audiences, were displayed in an edition for adults.

The surveyed material reveals some opposite tendencies operating during the Ventennio. There are paratextual elements shared by some UTC editions marketed for young and adult audiences in the period under examination. The shared elements cover themes and inside illustrations and demonstrate a process of circulation between two publishers in the same city, as in the Bemporad and Nerbini case,²⁹⁶ or transnational circulation across Sweden, the UK, the USA and Italy. The role of the publishing history in translations and the reconstruction of a

²⁹⁵ See Hochman, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, pp. 205-15 and Wood, *Blind Memory*, pp. 259-79.

²⁹⁶ The use of the same material for publishers based in the same city is also witnessed in Bietti 1934. Its cover image was already used in the Carrara edition of UTC published 1888 as both publishers were based in Milan.

text's trajectory, therefore, are central to understanding how paratextual elements of editions for children and adults are intermingled. Every translation has its own history, which also underlines the importance of considering target texts as originals in their own right. At the same time, the comparison between the Paravia and the Salani editions of 1940 highlights how different paratextual material were chosen by the publishers to target the same addressees. In this case, the paratext was used as a device to herald different reading experiences and original illustrations, once situated within the historical and cultural context, contributed to convey two interpretations of the book.

CHAPTER THREE

TRANSLATION ANALYSIS

3.1 The corpus of editions

This chapter aims to analyse selected passages of UTC translations encompassed in the selected corpus in order to illuminate three different aspects. It will help to chronologically locate the origins of Italian racialism and to highlight continuities between the first two decades of the twentieth century and the Ventennio. Secondly, translational norms will be examined in order to highlight points of convergence or divergence between editions targeting a young and an adult audience. Finally, the survey of the selected translations will allow considerations around the retranslation hypothesis.

The selected corpus includes, as we have seen, 17 editions published in the period 1920-45.²⁹⁷ As noted in the introduction, not only do some of these editions share the same translations, but also the section illustrating the history of the publication of UTC in Italy showed that the publishing market under the Ventennio mostly relied on publications issued in the previous decades.²⁹⁸ Hoepli reissued the same translation from 1912 throughout the Ventennio, and the same occurred for the Bemporad edition, which is published unaltered from 1910 onwards. The case of the Paravia 1940 edition is slightly different. Its first edition dates back to 1913, but the text was completely revised by the translator in 1935. It was then republished in 1940, with the same number of pages, in a new series, and presented as an entirely revised abridgement. Some of the translations published in the period under examination are even older. For example, Sonzogno, Salani and Bietti republished a translation dating back at least to 1877 and originally issued in Milan by Pagnoni.²⁹⁹ Evidently, readers' demand for UTC was considerable, and the publishing houses fulfilled that demand in the quickest and cheapest way possible. Only three new translations were available for the first time during the Ventennio: Barion 1928, the Nerbini 1928 abridgement and Salani 1940. According to Ettore

²⁹⁷ Bemporad 1920 and its subsequent reprints until 1937 and Nerbini 1928 shared exactly the same translation. Sonzogno 1930/1939, Salani 1922/1927/1939 and Bietti 1911/1934 substantially republished all the same translation. See the introduction for more details.

²⁹⁸ Section 1.4.1. and section 1.4.2

²⁹⁹ See Appendix 1 (Italy).

Fabietti's preface, the Barion translation aimed to restore the correctness of the original text of Beecher Stowe's novel against the incomplete and partially incorrect translations available at that time³⁰⁰ and to foster its circulation among Italian readers: 'Perché esso si propaghi sempre più in mezzo al popolo italiano, è stata apprestata questa nuova edizione integrale del grande libro, accuratamente ritradotto sull'originale inglese'.³⁰¹ Being equipped with footnotes explaining realia pertaining to the American culture and references to biblical passages, this integral edition combined its philological aim with the intent to reach a wide readership. On the other hand, the Nerbini abridgement for adults and the Salani for children offer a shortened text devoid of any preface and footnotes. These three translations will be used as benchmark against which to gauge continuities and discontinuities between the pre-Fascist and the Fascist period.

3.2 The black Other targeting adults and children

Because of its great success worldwide, UTC played a key role in the representation of black people. Due to its anti-slavery theme – which, however, does not exclude racist elements – UTC was subject to different interpretations during its US publishing history.³⁰² Even today popular culture continues to recast the book in different ways. An article published on 4 September 2013 in the American magazine *The Atlantic*, compared a Miley Cyrus performance to UTC stage adaptations. The singer was in fact performing on stage surrounded by black women, recalling one of the most famous scenes of the theatre adaptation of UTC, where the white child Eva, lies on her deathbed surrounded by mourning black slaves.³⁰³ As we have seen, while initially Beecher Stowe's novel was considered as

³⁰⁰ 'A proposito di altre versioni italiane ora in circolazione, il meno che si possa dire è che per la maggior parte, anche quelle date come integrali non lo sono affatto, e peccano inoltre di gravi infedeltà'. In Fabietti, 'Introduction' to *La capanna dello zio Tom* (Barion, 1928) p. 2.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Despite her abolitionist position, Beecher Stowe aligned with most of the mid nineteenth century white Americans in considering race as a biological reality endowed with inherent features. 'The innate characteristics she ascribed to blacks stereotyped and denigrated them while elevating white Anglo-Saxon'. In Ammons, 'Introduction' to *Harriet Beecher Stowe's*, pp. 6-7,

³⁰³ See Holly, L. Derr, 'The pervading influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Pop Culture', *The Atlantic*, 4 September 2013 <<http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/09/the-pervading-influence-of-em-uncle-toms-cabin-em-in-pop-culture/279281/>> [accessed June 2015].

a powerful instrument against slavery, beginning in the 1920s, it was regarded as an influential source of racism against black people.

For nineteenth-century Italian readers, UTC had been a remarkable source of information about the USA. As we saw earlier,³⁰⁴ the book conveyed a contradictory image of the USA. On the one hand, before the Italian unification it was a source of inspiration for the Italians fighting for the creation of the nation; and, on the other, in the 1860s, it 'transformed the ways in which Italians discussed and imagined the new worlds',³⁰⁵ and showed 'the dehumanizing brutality of a slaveholding society with unfailing clarity'.³⁰⁶ From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, information regarding the USA could be available to Italians through the mass media, thanks to the improvements of the publishing industry (followed by cinema and radio) and the growth of newspapers. In addition to this, Italian migrants, who started to move to that continent from the end of the nineteenth century, could convey direct information about African-Americans living in the USA. Nevertheless, in Italy there was still little direct knowledge about black people. Black Africans were exhibited in the 'fiere coloniali' directly or through photographs, but their presence was still rather limited.³⁰⁷ Between June and August 1938, in fact, only 72 black people were officially in Italy.³⁰⁸ The knowledge of black people, be they Africans or African-Americans, was still highly mediated through literature and mass media in Fascist Italy. Therefore, books such as UTC, as well as other important books published during the Italian Ventennio dealing with African-Americans were an important source of

³⁰⁴ Section 1.4.1.

³⁰⁵ Axel Körner, 'Masked faces. Verdi, Uncle Tom and the unification of Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 18:2 (2013), 176-189 (p. 181).

³⁰⁶ Körner, 'Uncle Tom on the Ballet Stage: Italy's Barbarous America, 1850-1900', *The Journal of Modern History* 83:4 (2011), 721-752 (p. 722). For the nineteenth-century Italian political reading of UTC, see section 1.4.1.

³⁰⁷ 'L'importanza dei musei e soprattutto delle esposizioni coloniali non deve essere sottovalutata: se si escludono viaggi o esperienze di lavoro e di combattimento, per molti italiani essi rappresentarono l'unica occasione di "avvicinare" l'Africa, un'occasione assai più coinvolgente di ogni conoscenza libresco o pubblicistica' in *L'Africa in vetrina*, ed. by Nicola Labanca (Treviso: PAGVS Edizioni, 1992), p. 2. See also 'La costruzione dell'impero, infine, non riguardava soltanto l'Africa, ma anche la madrepatria, e tutti gli italiani che vi erano rimasti, che non erano partiti, che per la maggior parte non sarebbero partiti mai, che avrebbero potuto incontrare degli africani solo in casi eccezionali e sporadici, forse soltanto se vivevano a Roma, o magari se fosse capitato loro di visitare il padiglione coloniale di qualche mostra o fiera' in Valeria Deplano, *L'Africa in casa* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2015), position 2556 of 5014 (Kindle edition).

³⁰⁸ See Gianluca Gabrielli, 'Africani in Italia negli anni del razzismo di Stato', in *Nel nome della razza*, pp. 201-212 (p. 208).

information on black people, including on those who were not African Americans, and a particularly significant place to negotiate their identity.³⁰⁹

Textual analysis of UTC and of its Italian translations will centre on the representation of the black Other. In particular, it will focus mostly on two scenes, both dealing with the representation of black literacy. With regard to the question of black literacy, UTC was repackaged as a racist book in the USA. As already noted in chapter 2, in some American editions of the end of the nineteenth century, none of the moments of the book in which Tom reads and writes (alone, or accompanied by white children) were illustrated. These particular moments highlight the superiority of white children with respect to an adult black man. As Wood underlined, Tom's literacy 'is, from the start, carefully conditioned'.³¹⁰ Tom learns to read thanks to George and Eva, the white son and daughter of his two masters, but 'unlike a child he will never master language'.³¹¹ At the same time these scenes inevitably entail contact between the characters.

Tom's representation in the Italian translations of the Ventennio shows a close link with the depiction of Africa and its inhabitants that started with the Italian colonial adventures of the 1880s and continued during the regime. The analysis of selected passages of UTC published in Italy during the Ventennio will demonstrate that some translations seem to 'appropriate' the character of Tom and make him overlap with a subject of the Italian colonial empire. By this way, they reinforce the image of Italians as colonisers in Africa, and they challenge the USA on the issue of racism and segregation of black people.

The first scene selected is taken from chap. 4, 'An Evening in Uncle Tom's Cabin', and introduces Tom for the first time and depicts him sitting at his kitchen table, in his cabin with George, who is teaching him to read and write. The scene opens with description of Tom, followed by a portrayal of what he is doing:

At this table was seated Uncle Tom, Mr. Shelby's best hand, who, as he is to be the hero of our story, we must daguerreotype for our readers. He was a large, broadchested,

³⁰⁹ E.g. Mc Kay's, *Home to Harlem* and Neale Hurston's, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. On other titles of African-American literature translated during the Ventennio and on the general consideration of this literature under and after the regime, see Charles Leavitt, 'Impegno Nero: Italian Intellectuals and the African-American Struggle', *California Italian Studies*, 4.2 (2013), 1-34.

³¹⁰ Wood, *Blind Memory*, p. 186.

³¹¹ Ibid.

powerfully-made man, of a full glossy black, and a face whose truly African features were characterized by an expression of grave and steady good sense, united with much kindness and benevolence. There was something about his whole air self-respecting and dignified, yet united with a confiding and humble simplicity.

He was very busily intent at this moment on a slate lying before him, on which he was carefully and slowly endeavouring to accomplish a copy of some letters, in which operation he was overlooked by young Mas'r George, a smart, bright boy of thirteen, who appeared fully to realise the dignity of his position as instructor. 'Not that way, Uncle Tom – not that way', said he, briskly, as Uncle Tom laboriously brought up the tail of his *g* the wrong side out; "that makes a *q*, you see."

"La sakes [sic], now, does it?" said Uncle Tom, looking with a respectful, admiring air, as his young teacher flourishingly scrawled *q*'s and *g*'s innumerable for his edification; and then, taking the pencil in his big, heavy fingers, he patiently recommenced.³¹²

The Sonzogno and the Hoepli editions omit the qualification of Tom as 'Mr. Shelby's best hand' and stress Tom's lack of familiarity with the act of writing, translating respectively the references to his 'big, heavy fingers' with 'mano inesperta' (p. 14) and 'dita inesperte' (p. 27). The Hoepli edition emphasizes the racial elements in the passage.³¹³ According to the original text Tom is 'glossy black' and shows typical 'African features'. The Sonzogno edition opts for a literal translation: 'nero lucido' and 'lineamenti che riproducono il tipo africano' (p. 14); Hoepli, instead, reifies Tom's complexion through the simile 'nero come il gajetto' (p. 27)³¹⁴ and introduces in this passage the word 'razza': according to this version, Tom displays 'lineamenti di vera razza africana' (p. 27).

This same passage is treated in a much more varied way in the other translations included in the corpus, which in any case bears witness to the lack of intervention with respect to the translations published before the Ventennio. The already mentioned translations 'dita inesperte'/'mano inesperta' and the omission

³¹² The first edition of UTC from where all the passages of this chapter are taken is available at <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/uncletom/uthp.html>> [accessed June 2015].

³¹³ This is one of the places where there is a clear tension between paratext and microtext. It has to be reminded, in fact, that the illustration that accompanies this extract in the Hoepli edition is framed by the caption: 'Egli sta copiando attentamente su di una lavagna', while Sonzogno chose the literal translation from the English caption: 'Così non va bene, zio Tom'. See section 2.1.

³¹⁴ The reification of black people was a widespread rhetoric and visual strategy used in the Italian advertisements of goods coming from the African colonies. See Pinkus, *Bodily Regimes*, p. 25.

of the qualification of Tom as 'best hand' of his master are shared also by the Bietti and Salani editions, but coexist with the Bemporad and Paravia literal translations.³¹⁵ Barion also opts for a literal translation,³¹⁶ whereas the Nerbini abridgement and the Salani edition for children omit the entire episode. Like some of the nineteenth-century American editions, these last two editions leave out any reference to black literacy.³¹⁷

Another episode of black literacy is represented in chap. 19 'Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions Continued'. It depicts Tom as he is writing a letter to his wife Chloe.

Tom was in a good deal of trouble, for the forms of some of the letters he had forgotten entirely; and of what he did remember, he did not know exactly which to use. And while he was working, and breathing very hard, in his earnestness, Eva alighted, like a bird, on the round of his chair behind him, and peeped over his shoulder.

"O, Uncle Tom! what funny things you are making, there!"

"I'm trying to write to my poor old woman, Miss Eva, and my little chil'en," said Tom, drawing the back of his hand over his eyes; "but, some how, I'm feard I shan't make it out."

"I wish I could help you, Tom! I've learnt to write some. Last year I could make all the letters, but I'm afraid I've forgotten."-

So Eva put her little golden head close to his, and the two commenced a grave and anxious discussion, each one equally earnest, and about equally ignorant; and, with a deal of consulting and advising over every word, the composition began, as they both felt very sanguine, to look quite like writing.

Eva finds him at the desk and asks: 'O, Uncle Tom! What funny things you are making, there!' Most of the re-edited translations opt for translating 'funny things'

³¹⁵ Bemporad: 'primo lavorante di Sir Shelby' and 'grosse dita' (p. 16). Paravia translation: 'braccio destro del signor Shelby' (p. 15) and 'grosse dita' (p. 16).

³¹⁶ Barion translation: 'Braccio destro' (p. 28) and 'grosse dita pesanti' (p. 29).

³¹⁷ Interestingly enough, however, in Salani's edition for children, George is at least at the table with Tom waiting for the meal that Chloe is cooking. In Nerbini's abridgement, George is completely absent from the scene in the cabin.

as 'scarabocchi' or 'fregacci',³¹⁸ while Barion chooses the translation: 'Che cose buffe state facendo costi?' (p. 266). The Hoepli edition opts for a neutral 'che cosa fate?' (p. 220); but soon after reinforces the contrast between the two characters: 'E la testa bionda della bimba, si curvò accanto a quella nera' (p. 221).

This opposition between the black and the blond head – inserted by the translator – can be read in terms of an opposition between light/darkness. The translator's preface to the first Hoepli edition supports this interpretation. Hoepli edition was first published in 1912, the year of the Italian war against Turkey for the possession of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. At that time Italy also already had colonial possessions in the Horn of Africa (Somalia and Eritrea). The translator's preface referred to this colonial accomplishment and underlined that

nella fertilità appena intraveduta della Tripolitania, nei misteri non ancora svelati agli occhi nostri della Cirenaica, langue e piange tuttora in servitù gran parte di quella razza africana che il mondo ha piegato sempre sotto il calcagno, mentre è degna, forse, di più alti destini.³¹⁹

In particular, in the preface there is a direct plea to the white child Eva. This character is described as 'la figura più luminosa che a queste pagine sorviva', 'angelo di bellezza e di pietà', and the translator wished she could 'dire ai figli dell'Africa nostra, ai piccoli fratelli dispersi e sofferenti, la buona parola di speranza e di salvezza'.³²⁰ Eva is, therefore, considered as the light that might illuminate the African people.

Travel accounts written during the Fascist colonial empire relied on the same metaphor of luminosity/darkness.³²¹ For instance, according to these accounts, Ethiopia, before being seized by the Italian army, was a country 'immersed in centuries of darkness', but after the conquest the 'imperial reality shone on the

³¹⁸ Bemporad: 'brutti fregacci' (p. 128); Sonzogno, Bietti and Salani: 'brutti scarabocchi' (p. 148; p. 237; p. 233); Paravia 'scarabocchi' (p. 130).

³¹⁹ Fulvia Rachele Saporiti, 'Introduction', p. iii.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Mussolini established the AOI (Africa Orientale Italiana) in 1936 after the conquest of Ethiopia. In addition to this country, it encompassed the Italian Somalia and Eritrea. In all these areas Italy practised the segregation towards the colonized people. In 1941 Italy lost all the territories after the surrender to the British army.

daily life of Italy'.³²² Extending only slightly more the metaphor to UTC, we can say that Eva's blond head stands for the Italian civilising light that can rescue the dark-headed colonised Tom.

Salani's 1940 edition greatly shortens this episode of black literacy, erasing any efforts made by Tom in the activity of writing, and highlights instead only the fundamental contribution of Eva to the composition of the letter: 'Nonostante gli sforzi di Evangelina, la lettera non riuscì gran che'.³²³ Nerbini's abridgement completely omits the episode. This version not only erases even this second episode of black literacy, but also, in other moments of the tale, accentuates Tom's status as an inferior slave and the patronising role of Eva through sentences added to the original text. This racist stance starts from the description that introduces Tom. In this Nerbini edition he is visibly depicted as the stereotypical black:

Grande, robusto, ben fatto lo Zio Tom apparteneva ad una meravigliosa razza di negri africani. Aveva un'espressione buona, pensosa e grave. Il suo contegno ed i suoi modi erano di una somma affabilità. Il viso simpatico e dolce era nero. Quando sorrideva aveva del fanciullo, mostrando una fila di denti bianchi come perle. (p. 4)

This extract, as in the Hoepli edition, introduces the word 'razza' in the description of Tom and reifies him: this time through a hackneyed simile of teeth as white as pearls. The passage continues to highlight the inferiority of the character. Firstly, it emphasizes Tom's blackness, isolating the adjective 'nero' at the end of the third sentence. Secondly, it shows him smiling and compares him to a child. The crystallization of the slave's image as a happy, childlike figure hints at an underdeveloped intellectual status.

In Italy, the link between racial differentiation and different intellectual abilities was established by Cesare Lombroso's theories at the end of the nineteenth century (1896-1897).³²⁴ He maintained that people's physical malformations were evidence of psychological and moral limitations. This

³²² Charles Burdett, *Journeys through Fascism: Italian Travel Writing between the Wars* (New York; Oxford: Berghan Books, 2007), p. 126.

³²³ The Salani edition I have consulted lacks page numbers.

³²⁴ Lombroso's theories were expressed in his *L'uomo delinquente. In rapporto all'antropologia, giurisprudenza e alle discipline carcerarie* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1896-1897).

biological explanation extended also to the racial debate, where Lombroso asserted that white Europeans were more developed than Africans, Asians and Americans.³²⁵ In 1879, the Socialist politician Leonida Bissolati, for instance, affirmed that Aryan superiority derived from a steady growth of intelligence, while the intellectual development of the Semitic populations ceased at around 16 years of age.³²⁶ Four years after Nerbini's abridgement, in 1932, the anthropologist Lidio Cipriani, postulated the genetic intellectual inferiority of black people:

Generalmente il Negro impressiona per il suo contegno da fanciullone incorreggibile, per la sua disposizione ad una allegria infantile.³²⁷

According to Nerbini's version, Tom himself states that 'Lo schiavo non ha più una volontà. Appartiene a chi lo ha comprato. [...] Deve essere fedele e sottomesso come un cane' (p. 5).

In this abridgement, the first dialogue between Tom and Eva is much longer than the original text. The two meet on a ship, which is carrying Tom and the slave trader who bought him from his first master to the South. The conversation between Tom and Eva takes place in chap. 19 'Evangeline' and stresses the child's role as Tom's saviour and portrays Tom as a resigned slave. Eva likes his 'buona faccia di schiavo rassegnato' and Tom looks at her 'con soave trasporto d'amore per la sua bambina'. She caresses his hair 'come avrebbe fatto con un ragazzino della sua età', and reassures him that he will be smiling and happy. Tom 'alza gli occhi al cielo a ringraziamento di quella insperata fortuna'.³²⁸ In the original text,

³²⁵ See Aliza S. Wong, *Race and the Nation in Liberal Italy (1861-1911). Meridionalism, Empire and Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), pp. 47-48.

³²⁶ Leonida Bissolati quoted in Mauro Raspanti, 'Il mito ariano nella cultura italiana fra Otto e Novecento', in *Nel nome della razza*, pp. 75-85 (p. 83). According to Bissolati, the limited dimension of the cranium in the Semitic population was the reason for its limited intellectual development. This genetic explanation was shared by other scientists of the Fascist period (among them, the zoologist Edoardo Zavattari and the professor of surgical pathology Alberto Chiurco). See Stefanella Spagnolo, *La patria sbagliata di Giuseppe Bottai: dal razzismo coloniale alle leggi razziali (1935-1939)* (Rome: Aracne, 2012), pp. 50-51.

³²⁷ Lidio Cipriani, *Considerazioni sopra il passato e l'avvenire delle popolazioni africane* (Florence: Bemporad, 1932), p. 139 quoted in Francesco Cassata, *'La difesa della razza' Politica, ideologia e immagine del razzismo fascista* (Turin: Einaudi, 2008), p. 230.

³²⁸ All the quotations from Nerbini are at p. 43.

Eva claims that if her father buys him, he will have 'good times' and Tom replies with a sober 'Thank you'.

The character of Tom seems to conform to the ideal colonised subject of the Italian empire, and the ways in which he is represented are connected with colonial discourse. Tom is a submissive slave, who hopes for freedom but who never challenges his fate. His compliance with the events of the story could be shaped according to the needs of Italian publishing houses. Overall, race in the Fascist propaganda and comics was a flexible theme, pliable to the regime's priorities, just as the Africa represented by the Italian colonial adventures 'viene trasformata in un'Africa icona [...] a seconda dei bisogni'.³²⁹ Likewise, Tom was a character of multiple identities, subject to re-interpretation, as already noted regarding the book covers of the editions surveyed. A sort of emptiness allows the reshaping of his identity. A reference to the lack of an identity is found, for instance, in the novel *Femina somala* published in 1933. In this case the protagonist, an indigenous woman, is compared to a 'cane fedele',³³⁰ who 'vivendo da bestiola non conosceva altro che la monotonia di quel vuoto'.³³¹ According to Bonavita, that empty space is a world 'privo di identità e coscienza [...] aperto ad una progettualità cui deve essere grato'.³³² The simile between the slave and the dog recalls the aforementioned passage from the Nerbini version.

The second extract quoted above also stresses the gratitude that Tom feels towards Eva and echoes a note of 20 May 1936 by the then governor of Ethiopia Giuseppe Bottai. The protagonist of this episode was an Ethiopian boy, Tesfaix, who followed the Italian army during the march to Addis Abeba with 'un'aria da bestiolina grata di uno sguardo, di una carezza'.³³³ Still according to this note, as soon as the boy understood that Bottai was taking him to Italy 'si gettò ai [suoi] piedi baciando la terra'.³³⁴ In this respect the omission of the episode, in which Tom learns to read in the Nerbini abridgement and Salani edition for children, is

³²⁹ Alessandro Triulzi, 'La costruzione dell'immagine dell'Africa e degli Africani nell'Italia coloniale', in *Nel nome della razza*, pp. 165-81 (p. 169). On race in comics, see Sinibaldi, 'Black and White Strips', p. 71.

³³⁰ Gino Mitrano Sani, *Femina somala. Romanzo coloniale del Benadir* (Naples: Libreria Dekten e Rocholl, 1933), p. 163, quoted in Bonavita, 'L'amore ai tempi del razzismo', p. 494.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Bonavita, 'L'amore ai tempi del razzismo', p. 495.

³³³ Spagnolo, *La patria sbagliata*, p. 128.

³³⁴ Ibid.

potentially significant. Since the absence of black literacy and the presence of references comparable to those that only a few years later would appear in the colonial literature, particularly the Nerbini version 'appropriates' the African American slave Tom and makes him overlap with a subject of the Italian colonial empire, presenting this image to a popular readership. The new sentences that compare Tom to a dog, which intensify his sentiment of gratitude towards Eva and enhance her attitude, recall passages of the Italian colonial literature previously mentioned, and seem particularly redolent of the escalation of the racial issue during the Ventennio. Yet this abridgement coexists with multiple editions of UTC from the first two decades of the century and which proposed a more 'subtle' racism. The Hoepli, Bemporad, Salani, Sonzogno, Bietti and Salani editions for children do not add sentences to the original text, but punctuate Beecher Stowe's words with consistent references to the racial issue. They are expressed in several ways: from the reification of Tom's complexion to the opposition between Tom's blackness and Eva's whiteness; from the omission of black literacy, or at least the reinforced image of Tom struggling to master the language, to concealing the relationship between him and Mr. Shelby.

That Italian racism rooted in the first two decades of the twentieth century is evident not only from the passages already analysed and that primarily focused on the depiction of Tom, but also from some extracts related to the character of Chloe, Tom's wife. Her 'great black stumpin' hands' are translated with 'nere zampacce' by the Sonzogno (p. 15), Salani (p. 32) and Bietti (p. 23) editions. This animalisation of Chloe's hands appears in all these editions from 1903, the date of the first Sonzogno edition. Another example concerns the relationship between Chloe and George. Part of chap. 4 of UTC is dedicated to a dialogue between Chloe and George. Both show a high level of confidence and their conversation is punctuated by some jokes. When George admits to have praised Chloe's cookery in front of his friend Tom Lincoln, Chloe reacts in this way:

[She] sat back in her chair, and indulged in a hearty guffaw of laughter, at this witticism of young Mas'r's, laughing till the tears rolled down her black, shining cheeks, and varying the exercise with playfully slapping and poking Mas'r Georgey.

The editions of the corpus use the figure of speech of reification also for this feminine character since her 'black, shining cheeks' are rendered with 'guance d'ebano' by Sonzogno (p. 15), Bietti (p. 22) and Salani (p. 31) and with 'guancie [sic] di un nero d'ebano' by Hoepli since 1912 (p. 30). However, in the passage in which Chloe pokes George, apart for Bemporad and Barion, all the other translations from 1903 onwards bowdlerise it. She still guffaws, but does not touch George.

These examples suggest that Italian racist discourse cannot be confined only to the years of the Fascist regime, but that it started well before 1937, when the Fascist regime established the first racial laws banning cohabitation between Italian citizens and Africans.³³⁵ Therefore, the history of publishing of UTC in Italy appears to foreground continuities between liberal and Fascist Italy, both for its book history and for racist attitudes conveyed through its editions.³³⁶ Moreover, the intriguing, complex, and not at all univocal example of the Hoepli edition shows that growing colonial interest implied foregrounding of the racial theme. Tom's stunted literacy, the reification of Tom's and Chloe's complexions, the toning down of the intimate friendship between Chloe and George are framed by the Hoepli translator's preface within the context of the Italian colonial adventure in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. This edition was republished for the subsequent 20 years without any revision, except for the deletion of the last part of Fulvia's preface in which hints at the colonial enterprise and the plea to Eva are made. This might have been also influenced by the symbolic capital embodied in Fulvia's translation, which had been very much praised by the academic world.³³⁷

The Hoepli editions and the Nerbini abridgement also show the discontinuities between these two historical periods, at least with regard to the Italian colonial adventure. The Hoepli edition cost L. 32, while the Nerbini was just

³³⁵ Law n. 880 of the 19th of April 1937 punished with one to five years of detention every Italian citizen who cohabited with a person of an inferior race. In 1938 interracial marriages were prohibited. See Spagnolo, *La patria sbagliata*, pp. 124-25.

³³⁶ Among the factors of continuity between Liberal (1861-1911) and Fascist Italy in the colonies, Burdett lists the legislation adopted in those territories and the repressive actions used to fight local resistance. See Burdett, *Journeys*, p. 118. According to Spagnolo, 'lo Stato liberale lasciò in eredità al Fascismo il disprezzo dei popoli di colore, usando tutte le armi del terrore: il lavoro coatto, la deportazione delle popolazioni, le fucilazioni di massa, la strategia della terra bruciata, i campi di internamento', in her *La patria sbagliata*, p. 42.

³³⁷ Her translation was judged the best Italian translation of UTC by Michele Scherillo (1860-1930), professor of Italian literature at the university of Milan and member of 'Accademia dei Lincei' <<http://www.letteraturadimenticata.it/biblsign%20DF.htm>> [accessed April 2017].

1 lira.³³⁸ Not only were they targeted at two different audiences, respectively young and adults, but also at readers with different economic means. This shift from one audience to another can find its *raison d'être* in a deep change in the conception of the colonial adventure that occurred from Liberal Italy to the Fascist regime. During Liberal Italy the colonial venture was mostly considered 'un'impresa di Stato' and the model of Italianness 'aderiva al modello di intellettuale o soldato militante per la patria, in Italia e nelle colonie'.³³⁹ On the contrary, the Fascist regime presented the colonial accomplishments as 'un'impresa del popolo'.³⁴⁰ As Finaldi recalls, Fascist propaganda of the 1930s substituted the rhetoric of the colonial enterprise, bringing progress, civilisation and freedom with the rhetoric of the 'imperialismo demografico' strictly based on pragmatic reasons: 'ora è il popolo italiano che colonizza l'Africa, che la vuole, che la costruisce e che ne trae profitto'.³⁴¹ As understanding of the colonisation of Africa turned from elitist to popular during the passage between the first two decades of the twentieth century to the Ventennio, editions of UTC published during the regime that included connections with colonial rhetoric did not address only a well-off readership, as the Hoepli edition did, but also a popular one, as witnessed by the Nerbini abridgement.

Before and during the regime, conveying Tom's identity was a complex task for the translators of UTC. This is evident in a passage from chap. 22, 'The grass withereth – the flower fadeth', which shows the relationship between Tom and Eva and is particularly interesting since it directly alludes to Italy:

He loved her as something frail and earthly, yet almost worshipped her as something heavenly and divine. He gazed on her as the Italian sailor gazes on his image of the child Jesus, — with a mixture of reverence and tenderness.

³³⁸ See section 1.4.2.

³³⁹ Gaia Giuliani, 'L'italiano negro. La bianchezza degli italiani dall'Unità al Fascismo', in *Bianco e nero. Storia dell'identità razziale degli italiani* ed. by Gaia Giuliani and Cristina Lombardi Diop (Florence: Le Monnier Università, 2013), pp. 8-63 (pp. 33, 35).

³⁴⁰ Giuliani, 'L'italiano negro', p. 57.

³⁴¹ Giuseppe Finaldi, 'La Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani, 1911-1960', in *La Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani (1911 – 2001)*, ed. by Nicola Labanca (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2003), pp. 61-108 (p. 91).

Through this simile, Tom is compared to an Italian person. The translations of the corpus show several ways to render this simile. Paravia omits it: 'Il fedele Tom [...] l'amava come qualcosa di fragile e di terrestre e nello stesso tempo la venerava come una creatura celeste e divina' (p. 145). Bemporad keeps the comparison, but deletes any reference to Italy: 'egli l'adorava come un essere celeste e divino; la guardava come certuni contemplano le immagini religiose, con un rispetto misto a tenerezza' (p. 140). Salani, Sonzogno and Bietti opt for 'La contemplava con quell'ossequiosa tenerezza che i marinai delle spiagge italiane provano dinanzi all'immagine di Gesù bambino' (p. 163). These last translations refer to an Italian context, but extend the comparison so as to move the adjective 'Italian' from 'marinai' to 'spiagge'. Barion, coherently with the previous translation choices, opts for a literal translation: 'La contemplava con quell'ossequiosa tenerezza, con cui il marinaio italiano guarda l'immagine del Bambino Gesù' (p. 291). The most intriguing translation is the Hoepli one: 'La considerava press'a poco con la venerazione commossa e ingenua che il pescatore napoletano tributa a Gesù bambino' (p. 245). According to the Hoepli translator, Tom can only be identified with a person from the South of Italy, a choice which highlights the link between this translation and the cultural context of Liberal Italy. At that time, the general discourse around racial differences was also used to explain the aetiology of the underdevelopment of Southern Italy with respect to the north. This backwardness was attributed to racial inferiority, rather than to cultural, political and historical causes. According to Italian physiognomists, Southern Italians were subordinate to Northerners since they belonged to the EuroAfrican population.³⁴² Not surprisingly, the Southern question overlapped with the 'African question' and also justified the colonial interest:

La questione meridionale è soprattutto questione Africana (...) Concorrendo a europeizzare l'Africa, o per lo meno l'Africa [sic] settentrionale, l'Italia s'adopererà a creare per il mezzogiorno una condizione favorevole.³⁴³

³⁴² Wong, *Race and the Nation*, p. 148.

³⁴³ This quotation is taken from the first volume of *Enciclopedia geografica, Monografia sull'Africa* (Milan, 1873), quoted in Alberto Luchini, *Popolarità dell'Africa in Italia* (Rome: INCF, 1942), p. 27.

Therefore Tom can only be compared to another inferior person, who (almost) shares his origins, namely, a Neapolitan sailor.

The publication of editions for children that accentuated the racist features of Tom (mostly Hoepli, Bemporad and Salani 1940) seem to foreground the importance of the colonial experience for the regime, especially with regard to the young. Schools were a significant sounding board for the colonial adventure. The radio broadcasted updates regarding the Italian army in Africa during classes, school library sections were filled with colonial literature,³⁴⁴ schoolbooks had a section devoted to the Ethiopian enterprise and even school reports were decorated with maps of the Italian colonial empire.³⁴⁵ At the beginning of the 1930s, the regime started to foster a colonial literature with a strong pedagogical aim suitable to the new aspirations of the new Italians, and which shared the same feature of colonial literature for adults.³⁴⁶

With respect to this, colonial literature for children represented the same controversial relationship between Italians and the colonised that featured literature for adults. Notwithstanding their exotic characteristics, a sense of admiration about the colonised pervades Italian colonial accounts. Africans who joined the Italian army were often appreciated for their intellectual and military skills. As noted by Stefani, in the book for children *Piccolo legionario in A. O.* by Salvator Gotta, the racial difference between the son of an askari, Tesfai, and a young Italian boy, who joined the national army in the Ethiopian war, did not prevent them from becoming friends. On the contrary, their bond is based on their belonging to the same country, as the Italian boy asserts: 'Sei italiano come me, Tesfai, e io sento di volerti già bene, anzitutto perché sei figlio della mia stessa

³⁴⁴ See Mario Isnenghi, *L'educazione dell'italiano: il fascismo e l'organizzazione della cultura* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1979), pp. 38-49 and Deplano, *L'Africa in casa*, chap. 4, position 2535 of 5014. Gianluca Gabrielli outlines the studies so far on the representation of the colonial enterprise in schools and literature for children in his 'Finding out about the colonies. The role of schools, between the 1800s and 1900s, in establishing an Italian colonial identity. The state of research', *History of Education & Children's Literature*, VIII.1 (2013), 319-41.

³⁴⁵ For more details regarding the influence of the colonial adventure on Italian schools see Antonio Mencarelli, *Inquadrati e fedeli: educazione e fascismo in Umbria nei documenti scolastici* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996) and *Il fascismo e l'educazione dei giovani*, ed. by Anna Maria Ori and Brunetta Salvarani (Carpi: Comune stampa, 2003).

³⁴⁶ Africa represented in this literature had to overcome the image of the exotic continent widespread in the nineteenth century and had to become instead an 'Africa liberata dalla barbarie e rimodellata nella storia come nel paesaggio, dal plastico intervento del fascismo'. In Laforgia 'Il colonialismo italiano', p. 229. On colonial literature for children and adults from the beginning of the twentieth century to the Fascist regime, see Giovanna Tomasello, *La letteratura coloniale italiana dalle avanguardie al fascismo* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1984).

Patria e poi perché hai tanto sofferto'.³⁴⁷ However, the language spoken by the little askari reproduces the stereotypical language attributed to Africans. It is featured by the only use of the infinitive tense and the pronunciation of the dental consonants as labial ones. Answering some questions made by his Italian friend, Tesfai replies in this way: 'Io stare, io abitare Addi Ugri con mia madre. Poi scoppiare guerra e mio badre andare fronte'.³⁴⁸

Interestingly, the character of Topsy speaks the same 'Italian' in Nerbini's abridgement. Beecher Stowe made Topsy the counterpart of Eva, the angelical white child, as she is portrayed as a savage. St. Claire entrusts Topsy to his own cousin Ophelia to educate. In order to accentuate her African origins, Nerbini adopts the same strategy that a decade later would be used in Gotta's novel as exemplified in the following sentence said by Topsy towards Eva: 'Io sapere, buona madamigella, voi avere fatto riscattare Tom Zio. Brava! buona! Io bianchi mai vedere. Ora vedere bianchi e neri' (p. 44).³⁴⁹ The Nerbini edition emphasises the contrast between the two children entitling the consecutive chapters which have them as protagonists respectively 'La figlia del diavolo' and 'La morte di un angelo' (p. 44).

The depiction of Tom as an infantile character appears in the Nerbini 1928 abridgement and Salani 1940 in two different aspects of the translations. Nerbini explicitly compares Tom smiling to a child ('Quando sorrideva aveva del fanciullo'), whereas Salani 1940 stresses his childish dimension through his representation as Eva's playmate.³⁵⁰ Beecher Stowe conceived of this character in a way that would appeal to both adults and children. The emphasis on the infantile side of 'blacks' is an easy way to point out their inferiority.³⁵¹ Particularly in Italy, the stereotype

³⁴⁷ Giulietta Stefani, 'Italiani e ascari: percezioni e rappresentazioni dei colonizzati nell'Africa orientale italiana', *Italian Studies*, 61.2 (2006), 207- 23 (213).

³⁴⁸ Salvator Gotta, *Piccolo legionario in A.O.* (Milan: Baldini & Castoldi Editori, 1940), pp. 182-83 quoted in Stefani, 'Italiani e ascari', 213.

³⁴⁹ The representation of the faltering Italian spoken by African populations is common in the colonial literature of the period, among which Perricone Violà, *Un balilla all'equatore* and Vittorio Lucatelli, *Pinocchietto a Sciara-Sciat* (Milan: Bietti, 1912).

³⁵⁰ See section 2.2

³⁵¹ The image of childlike slaves started to be widespread in American literature from the 1850s and rooted in the literature for young written in the 1820s. As Roth maintains, black slaves portrayed in juvenile literature of the 1820s 'relished their subordinate place in the hierarchy of the household and became unnerved only when their dependent relationship with the master was threatened. In doing so, these characters exhibited the qualities of children rather than men'. In Sarah Roth, *Gender and Race in Antebellum Popular Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 17.

African = baby was common in travel writing recounting the Ethiopian adventure. As Stefani notes, Italian representations of Africans often used 'immagini paternalistiche, che descrivono gli africani come bambini o figli'.³⁵² For instance, ascari were defined as 'magnifici bambini' who needed to be educated 'per ottenere tutto il rendimento che possono dare'.³⁵³ According to one colonial writer, their spirit 'è quello di un bimbo in una struttura da uomo'.³⁵⁴ Colonised populations look for guidance and find it in the Italian colonisers and want to see in their action 'la mano che stringe il cavallo frenetico ma anche quella che dirige il cieco oppure il bambino'.³⁵⁵ The great success of UTC in Italy might be seen in light of its link with the country's colonial expansion and even more to its interpretation as an instrument for fostering and justifying the colonial enterprise. In the twentieth century the antislavery theme was no longer interpreted as a symbol of struggle for Italian independence, but was re-read in the light of the Italian civilizing mission. This shift of interpretation also may explain the absence of UTC from the dangerous books listed during the 'Convegno nazionale di letteratura per l'infanzia' held in 1938 in Bologna.³⁵⁶

Alongside the colonial interest of Liberal Italy earlier and of the Fascist regime later, anti-Americanism played an important role in the political 'appropriation' of Tom. As noted before, from 1850s in Italy, the myth of the USA as a country of freedom had been crushed under the weight of the Civil War and the stories about the brutality of slavery. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Italian rhetoric regarding Africa was imbued with references to the USA. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which facilitated connections between Europe, Africa and Asia, was seen as a way for Italy to get from Africa 'tutte le risorse che la natura ha dato agli Stati Uniti d'America'. The Nile was

³⁵² Stefani, 'Italiani e ascari', 223.

³⁵³ Torquato Padovani, *Ascari. Ricordi di vita coloniale* (Milan: C. Marino, 1934), p. 78 quoted in Stefani, 'Italiani e ascari', 217.

³⁵⁴ *L'Italia in Africa. Serie storico-militare. L'opera dell'esercito*, vol. i, tomo ii, *Avvenimenti militari e impiego* (Rome: MAE, Comitato per la documentazione dell'opera italiana in Africa, Ist. Poligrafico dello Stato, 1977), pp. 73–74, quoted in Stefani, 'Italiani e ascari', 216.

³⁵⁵ Alessandro Ferrara, *Con i barbari contro i barbari* (Naples: Editrice Rispoli Anonima, 1940), p. 4 quoted in Stefani, 'Italiani e ascari', 216.

³⁵⁶ See section 1.4.2. It is worth noting that UTC was used in reference to the slavery issue in Africa already at the end of the nineteenth century. In the article 'Il Sudan e la tratta degli schiavi', the Arab raids against the African population are reported. The author of the article maintained: 'Le miserie della *Capanna dello zio Tom* sono un nonnulla in paragone degli strazi, delle torture fisiche a cui quella razza maledetta di ingordi arabi condannano quegli infelici caduti nelle loro mani'. *Corriere della Sera*, 4-5 March 1884, p. 2.

considered 'quello che fu ed è per gli abitanti della Nuova Inghilterra il bacino del Mississipi'; its delta 'molto più vicina a Roma di quello che la bocca del Mississipi lo sia a Boston od a New York'.³⁵⁷ However, a paradoxical attitude towards the USA persisted until Fascism. Although the dynamism and the pragmatism of the USA were a source of fascination, American society was considered oligarchic, materialistic and standardised.³⁵⁸ One aspect of American society that raised Fascist criticism is particularly worth mentioning. Americans were accused of being racist, notwithstanding the abolition of slavery. Some articles published in *La Difesa della Razza* in 1938 reiterated this opinion stating that 'Dieci milioni e mezzo di negri che si trovano negli Stati Uniti vivono [...] sotto il tallone dei bianchi'.³⁵⁹ Americans were 'falsi puritani' who cried scandal about Italian racism, but actually were 'i razzisti più feroci: basti pensare al linciaggio'.³⁶⁰ Racial discrimination was interestingly linked with the economic power of the USA, according to Cecchi, who defined racism as 'strumento terrificante d'una tirannia economica'.³⁶¹ These accusations against American society do not have to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of equal rights for black people, but simply as a further reason to criticise the USA. Dunnett highlighted Cecchi's brutal description of lynching as aimed 'to amass a catalogue of shocking facts with which to describe and denounce the way American society is organised – the lynchings simply provide further ammunition for these attacks'.³⁶²

Americans were still associated with slave drivers, but now they were also blamed as 'trafficienti di carne bianca',³⁶³ namely, traders of European migrants. It has to be remembered that from the mid-nineteenth century the USA had been the favourite destination for European migrants. In 1927, the Fascist regime banned Italian emigration abroad, including to the USA, while fostering migration to the

³⁵⁷ Luchini, *Popolarità dell'Africa*, p. 8.

³⁵⁸ Some significant titles published during the period were *America amara* published in 1939 by Emilio Cecchi and *Roma Nuova York e ritorno. Tragedie dell'americanismo*, an analysis of American society and the New Deal by Franco Ciarlantini published in 1934. Franco Ciarlantini was an early member of the Fascist party, founder of the Fascist journal *Augustea*, of the Fascist publisher Alpes and head of the State office for "Stampa e Propaganda" between 1923 and 1924.

³⁵⁹ A. L., 'Il razzismo nordamericano', *La Difesa della Razza*, 2.1 (1938), 23-24 (p. 23).

³⁶⁰ Daniele Ungaro, 'Razzismo e civiltà', *La Difesa della Razza*, 2.9 (1938), 32-33 (p. 32).

³⁶¹ Cecchi, 'Razzismo e opportunismo', in *America Amara*, pp. 91-96 (p. 96) quoted in Nacci, *L'Antiamericanismo in Italia negli anni Trenta* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1989), p. 53.

³⁶² Dunnett, *The 'Mito americano'*, p. 199. Cecchi devoted an entire chapter of his *America amara* to the topic of lynching ('5000 linciaggi').

³⁶³ Giuseppe Bottai, 'Sangue contro oro', *Critica Fascista*, 15 July 1941 quoted in Nacci, *L'antiamericanismo*, p. 57.

colonies, in Africa. Not only were the Americans accused of exploiting European migrants, and therefore also Italian migrants, but it was suggested that they also wanted to prevent Italians from abolishing slavery in Ethiopia and Eritrea.³⁶⁴ The Fascist regime denied the presence of any sort of slavery in Italy's African territories and affirmed that black people under Italian rule were fairly treated, unlike the 'davvero bestiale trattamento del negro da parte dei coloni inglesi in America, così efficacemente descritto, in veste senza pretese, nella 'Capanna dello zio Tom'''.³⁶⁵ Another reference that links UTC with the slavery in the African colonial territories is made by the journalist Piero Domenichelli, in 1936, in his review to *La Dancalia Esplorata* by Lewis Mariano Nesbitt published by Bemporad in 1930. This book narrates the 1928 expedition of Italian pioneers in Dancalia, a region of the horn of Africa. Describing this venture, Domenichelli underlined that Italians abolished slavery in that region against 'una cosiddetta "civiltà europea" [...] non vorrebbe che questa barbarie fosse vinta e sgominata'. This made him think of 'un altro meraviglioso libro sulla tragedia immane, angosciosissima, biblica della schiavitù [...], la "Capanna dello zio Tom"! Ma altri tempi, probabilmente, per gli stessi popoli civili o cosiddetti civili'.³⁶⁶

In Italy, then, UTC was given a political interpretation throughout the first half of the twentieth century. However, as we have seen, the historical and cultural context changed from the nineteenth century, affecting interpretations of the book. The new political interpretation of the novel allowed Fascist Italy to establish political and cultural bonds with Africa and the USA. On the one hand, the African-American slave acquired the features of black people depicted in Italian colonial literature. On the other hand, the editions of Beecher Stowe's book published in Italy after the 1910s reminded Italians of the American slave-trading past, thereby reinforcing the negative image of the USA and strengthening the idea that racism

³⁶⁴ Bottai, 'Sangue contro oro', [Gli americani e gli inglesi] 'volevano impedirci d'abolire lo schiavismo nell'impero del negus'. In this passage, Bottai refers to the sanctions voted by the League of Nations against Italy caused by the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and to the US negative opinion about the Italian occupation.

The abolition of slavery in Africa was one of the reasons advanced to justify the Italian colonial adventure from the last decades of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the Antislavery society (1888-1937) contributed to justify the colonial war in the eyes of Italian public opinion. See Ettorre, 'La società antischiavista d'Italia'.

³⁶⁵ Giacomo Ebner, *Inchiesta sulla schiavitù* (Rome: Società italiana arti grafiche editrice, 1940), p. 15 quoted in Leavitt, 'Impegno Nero', 21.

³⁶⁶ Piero Domenichelli, 'La "Dancalia Esplorata"', in *Almanacco Fascista del "Popolo d'Italia"* XIV, (1936), 393-96 (p. 393).

and segregation were problems of that country. In this sense, these editions connected with nineteenth-century interpretations of the book, in which there was a clear hint of anti-Americanism to be found in the negative image of that country conveyed by Rota's ballet *I bianchi e i neri*. However, Italian editions of UTC issued in the first half of the twentieth century have associations with other works that staged 'Italy's Barbarous America' such as Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera* and Puccini's *La Fanciulla del West*.³⁶⁷ At the same time, they helped 'l'Italia provinciale di allora – che non leggeva i giornali stranieri e non conosceva il mondo esterno'³⁶⁸ – to overlook any racism inherent in the colonial adventure and the segregation that Italy practiced in the colonies.

It is worth noting that translational choices regarding the representation of racial issues are not always consistent in the selected translations. This is particularly noticeable in Salani 1940 and in the Nerbini abridgement. In these editions, the episodes of black literacy previously analysed are omitted. Nevertheless, in another passage in Nerbini, Tom not only reads the Bible, but also explains religious verses to Eva, who listens to Tom 'sdraiata sulle sue ginocchia' (p. 44). Here the contact between Eva and Tom is much closer than in the original text, where the two characters are only seated next to each other. In Salani 1940 neither Eva nor Tom read the Bible; on the contrary, Tom sings a religious song to her. Further on, Tom notices the signs of Eva's disease on her body: pale skin, short breath, and thin hands. Tom holds Eva's hands and senses that she is feverish. In this case, too, the contact between the two characters is closer than in Beecher Stowe's novel, where Tom spots that Eva's 'fervent cheek and little hand were burning with hectic fever', but without touching her.

This non-systematic emphasis on racial elements in translation confirms that ideology is not a conceptual entity imposed from within. Even if translators do not live in 'a space between',³⁶⁹ but inhabit a specific place and time, translation choices are not only due to the constraints of a regime's policy, but also relate to a series of different factors. Following Tymoczko, the ideology of a translation is constituted by various elements, among which are the content of the source text,

³⁶⁷ See Körner, 'Uncle Tom', 721.

³⁶⁸ Luigi Preti, *Impero fascista, africani ed ebrei* (Milan: Mursia, 1968), p. 60.

³⁶⁹ Maria Tymoczko, 'Ideology and the Position of the Translator. In What Sense is a Translator 'in Between'?', in *Apophros of Ideology*, ed. by María Calzada Pérez (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 181-201 (p. 201).

the representation of the content, its relevance to the receptor audience and the various speech acts of the translation itself addressing the target context. Therefore discrepancies can be found in translations of the same text because of 'the translator's particular choices on all these various levels'.³⁷⁰

The Paravia and Bemporad translations, dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century, do not systematically emphasise the racial issue. Their republication without any substantial revisions during the regime shows that the regime allowed their publication, irrespective of whether they stressed racial aspects or not. This suggests a low degree of intervention on publishing a long established classic such as UTC, as it was also a cheaper and easier strategy to follow than commissioning new translations or revisions of existing translations. More significantly, Barion (1928), which was the Italian first integral translation published during the Ventennio, never accentuates the racial aspect of the book. Yet, as we have seen, this coexists with the Nerbini abridgement and the Salani 1940 version. These two opposite translational behaviours might suggest that the racial policy of the regime aimed to target the less wealthy part of the population and young readers, who most probably were the main market for the cheap Nerbini abridgement (1 lira) and the Salani version for children. On the contrary, a translation with the philological aim of restoring the correctness of the original text and with a significant number of footnotes seems to appeal a more educated audience.

3.3 Norms and audiences

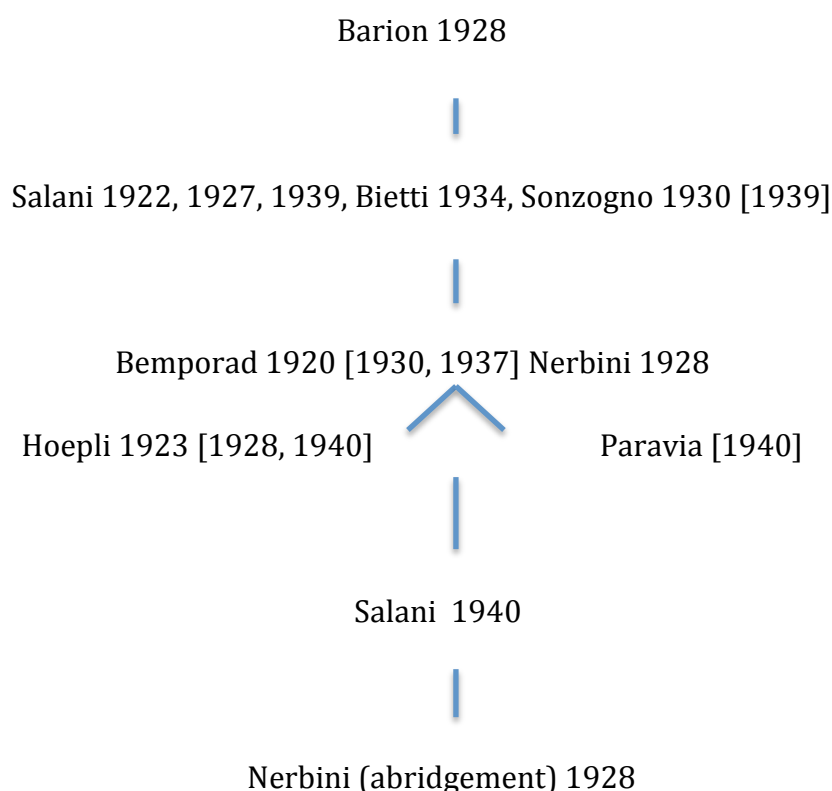
In the fourth chapter of the book, Tom is described as spending time with his family in his cabin. As briefly outlined above, this chapter sketches Tom's family life and is set in Tom's cabin, which is described in detail. The narrator focuses on the character of Chloe, Tom's wife, who is depicted mostly as a wonderful cook. The scene then goes on to describe Tom with George, as already discussed above. The rest of the chapter is mostly devoted to a dialogue between Chloe and George regarding some of their acquaintances. Finally, the cabin opens up to other people who go there to pray together. The analysis of the whole scene will aim firstly to explain different translation choices, and, secondly, to highlight changes in

³⁷⁰ Tymoczko, 'Ideology', p. 183.

translational norms, arguing that in the case of the Italian translations of UTC in the period under examination a neat distinction between norms in translations for different audiences is hard to trace.³⁷¹

If we look at the paratextual elements of the translations included in the selected corpus, we can see that none of them is openly defined as an adaptation. According to the paratexts, we find ‘traduzioni integrali’ (Barion), ‘traduzioni’ (Hoepli, Salani, Bietti, Nerbini), ‘versioni’ (Sonzogno) and ‘riduzioni’ (Paravia, Bemporad and Nerbini). Salani 1940 for children states only ‘Dal racconto di Enrichetta Beecher-Stowe’ in the inner cover, where the preposition ‘dal’ emphasises the derivative character of the Salani translation.

The following diagram represents progressive movement from the original chap. 4 of the editions under examination. It considers only two factors, namely number of deletions and simplification of syntax:



³⁷¹ For instance, Pokorn, referring to Yugoslav translations in the post-Socialist period, argues that ‘the translation strategy itself could help to distinguish between literature for adults and children’s literature’. In Nike K. Pokorn, *Post-socialist Translation Practices: Ideological Struggle in Children’s Literature* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2012), p. 128.

If we follow Hutcheon's theorisation, the only translation outside the 'realm of adaptation' is the Barion one, which positions itself at one extreme of the continuum. This is an integral translation, which does not omit any part of the original. Secondly, there are the Salani, Bietti and Sonzogno translations that present few omissions in respect to the original text. Then there is the Bemporad edition for children, which has a higher number of omissions but maintains a complex syntax. The Hoepli and Paravia editions have a higher number of omissions with respect to the Bemporad and an increased level of readability. The two remaining editions – the Salani for children and the Nerbini 1928 abridgement – are the two last steps of the 'reception continuum'. Salani 1940 keeps the same structure of the original chap. 4. However, dialogues between the characters are deleted and the narration of the religious event at the end of the chapter is greatly shortened. The story is reduced to its essential episodes; as a result, the psychological features of the characters are flattened. Nerbini further reduces and changes the plot of the chapter, so that not even the structure of the original is recognizable. The events of the original chapter occupy not even a page in this abridgement. The domestic atmosphere is only sketched, the final religious episode is completely left out and, as already mentioned in the previous section, George is absent from the scene. Most of the chapter in the Nerbini abridgement is occupied by the arrival of Eliza, a slave whose son was sold by Tom's master, at the cabin. She confesses her intention to escape with her child and discloses to Tom that his master has sold him too. The dialogue between Eliza, Tom and Chloe is also greatly shortened with respect to the original one.

UTC's Italian translations will now be considered according to the reception continuum illustrated above in order to determine the overlap of norms followed in translations for adults and for young. As already noted, analysis of chap. 4 seems particularly appropriate to examine translational norms since it gives us the chance to look at the translation of proper names, food, plants and religious songs, all elements strongly embedded in the source culture. All of them might be expected to be subject to a high degree of domestication in order to create a text that has 'a similar effect on the reader of the target text'.³⁷²

³⁷² Desmidt, 'A Prototypical Approach', pp. 90-91.

The treatment of proper names in the selected translations is twofold. First, the reception continuum shows a progressive disappearance of characters and, consequently, a reduction of the plot. The complete set of characters appears in Barion, Salani, Sonzogno, Bietti, Bemporad and Hoepli. Paravia mentions only Tom, Chloe, George, their three sons and Jenny, a cook named in one of Chloe's dialogues with George. Salani (1940) names only Tom's family members and George, while the Nerbini abridgement limits the presence of the characters only to Tom's sons and wife; however, while Salani cites their proper names, Nerbini leaves Tom's sons anonymous.

The translation of proper names is less linear, even though all translations of the corpus retain the names Tom and Chloe in the original form. George, Moses and Pete are always Italianised as Giorgio, Mosé and Pietro, irrespective of the addressees of the translations. Generally, this choice might be justified by the ease with which one can find corresponding Italian names to the foreign ones. The same observation might be valid for the names of other characters mentioned, such as Lizzy and Jenny. However, while Jenny is always kept in this form (except in Paravia where it becomes Giovanna),³⁷³ Lizzy is Italianised into Lisa and Elisa respectively in the Sonzogno³⁷⁴ and Hoepli editions. Sally, with no Italian equivalent, is kept in the original form in all the translations, except for Barion, which turns it into Lally (therefore still preserving its foreignness).

Two particular cases highlight some interesting translation choices. The first regards the name of Tom's daughter, Mericky in the original text. Sonzogno, Hoepli and Bemporad change her name. Hoepli chooses a more common name such as Polly, while Sonzogno prefers Baby. Bemporad substitutes the uncommon English name with another unusual name, Stolly, while Barion uses a generic epithet 'gioia'. The second case concerns the name of one of the worshippers attending the religious meeting, Uncle Peter. Barion and Bemporad translate this name as 'zio Pietro', while Sonzogno and Hoepli respectively opt for zio Robin and zio Robbins, probably to avoid the confusion that might arise with Tom's son, Pete, 'Pietro'. This same issue led Barion to translate the first name of Tom Lincoln, Shelby's friends'

³⁷³ Jenny might have become a familiar name to the Italian audience since the diffusion of American cinema and literature, but also due to the popularity of Jenny Lind (1820-1887), a Swedish soprano very well known in Italy.

³⁷⁴ From now on when I refer to the Sonzogno's translation I refer also to Bietti and Salani.

son, as Tommaso Lincoln in order to prevent a misunderstanding with the protagonist of the novel. The translation of these proper names highlights the fact that norms overlap between translations for adults and children, since the translations examined domesticate and foreignise proper names irrespectively of the addressees.

Overall two trends can be noted: the tendency to Italianise names that have a natural correspondent in the target language (Giorgio, Mosé, Pietro) and to maintain foreign names when they do not have correspondent Italian names (Sally, Jenny). However, some translational choices appear to be taken in a singular way; for instance those justified by contextual factors, such as concern to avoid misinterpretations (zio Robin/zio Robbins and Tommaso Lincoln).

The chapter begins with a description of the cabin's exterior. The writer's gaze focuses on the plants and flowers that decorate the cabin. In the original text they are a 'large scarlet begonia', 'a native multiflora rose', marigolds, petunias and four o'clocks. As with the proper names, there is also here a progressive elimination of these details, but with a significant exception. Bemporad, Hoepli and Paravia quote only the begonia and the rose, while in Salani 1940 the list is longer than in the original:

I fiori poi non vi mancavano. Se lo zio Tom era un provvido ortolano, sua moglie, la zia Cloe, oltre ad essere un'ottima cuoca, era altresì una provetta giardiniera. Alle sue cure particolari erano affidate la grande begonia porporina e la bella pianta di rose rampicanti che coprivano, intrecciandosi, la facciata della capanna, e i gigli, le viole, le margherite, i gerani e, d'autunno, i magnifici crisantemi che sfoggiavano la loro bellezza nelle aiuole.

The flowers are adapted to more common species and they help to increase the idyllic atmosphere of Tom's house. This tallies with the visual elements that illustrate the Salani 1940 edition, where a house is drawn in the inside cover, followed by a portrait of a dreamy Tom and Chloe looking at their cabin.³⁷⁵

Barion aimed to position itself as a translation that corrected the mistakes of other circulating translations, but simplified marigolds, petunias and four o'clocks

³⁷⁵ See section 2.2.

as ‘margheritine e campanuline’. Sonzogno on the other hand, uses some botanical names, deliberately printed in italics:

Un gran *bignonia* porporina e un rosaio ricco di mille fiori s'intrecciavano sulla facciata [...]. Magnifici fiori, come il giglio, la *margherita reale*, la *petronia* sfoggiavano la loro maestosa bellezza (p. 12).

These are different from the flowers cited in the original, but the passage from ‘begonia’ to ‘bignonia’ tries to maintain the cultural specificity of the source text. This flower is native to the South of the USA. This small passage also proves some ‘exchanges’ between translations. Interestingly, Bemporad for children translates what Sonzogno renders with the botanical name ‘bignonia’ with the popular name ‘gelsomino di Virginia’ (p. 15).

Another interesting category with respect to translational norms is food. As mentioned before, in this chapter Chloe, Tom’s wife, is essentially praised for her great culinary skills. She is depicted while preparing dinner for her family and for George. Overall, the several types of food listed in the original text are reduced in number and given general names. In this case, however, the Bemporad translation seems to be more accurate than Sonzogno one. There is a progressive decrease and a parallel generalization in the dishes mentioned in the chapter. For instance, among the numerous cakes that Chloe prepares there are ‘corn cake, hoe cake, dodgers and muffin’. These four types of cakes are turned into ‘diverse specie di torta, ch’essa faceva con la farina di frumento’ (p. 27) by Barion and ‘torte di farina gialla, frittelle e altre ghiottonerie’ (p. 15) by Bemporad. They become simply ‘intingoli’ (p. 13) in the Sonzogno editions and ‘pasticci’ (p. 25) in the Hoepli. The cakes are omitted in other editions of the corpus. The tendency to domesticate American foodstuffs, not recognisable in Italian culture, can be obliquely identified in all the editions under examination, irrespective of their target audience. Some examples help us to see the translational choices present in the corpus. Chloe is cooking sausages and cakes for her husband and for George. These two courses are turned into meals closer to Italian cookery by the Hoepli edition, namely ‘salsicciotti’ and ‘patate’ (p. 28). At the same time, Hoepli inserts the typical Italian

'marzapane' (p. 30) to the list of dishes that Jenny is able to prepare and which are constituted by taters, corn bread and cakes, and pies.

Barion and Bemporad mention two traditional Italian dishes which gives at least a comic feature to the scene. In these editions, Tom's children dine in the nineteenth-century Kentucky respectively on 'tortelli caldi' (p. 33) and 'pasta' (p. 18), instead of 'a goodly pile of cake'. If Bemporad's choice can be explained by the young readership, Barion's option is rather surprising since this translation proclaims in the preface a return to the original text, spoiled by its translations on the market. These last two editions also show opposite translational choices, introducing an element of foreignness that is absent in the original. Both agree, for example, on the translation of 'turkey' as 'gallina d'India' (Barion, p. 27; Bemporad, p. 15). The word 'tacchino' entered the Italian vocabulary before 1676³⁷⁶ and was therefore an available choice for the Barion and Bemporad translators. Opting for 'gallina d'India' means recalling the foreign origin of the turkey, brought to Europe from America in the sixteenth century.

Three extracts from hymns are quoted in the original chapter, sung during the meeting that takes place in Tom's cabin. Here too, following the 'reception continuum' we can see a gradual contraction of these passages. They are reproduced in Barion, Sonzogno,³⁷⁷ Salani, Bietti and Bemporad, where they are translated into verse as in the original. All these editions provide different translations of the hymns, except Salani and Bietti which use the same one. This is the most notable case of divergence in the translation choices between Sonzogno on the one hand and Salani and Bietti on the other.

Hoepli keeps the three religious references, but they are substituted with verses from the Book of Revelations.³⁷⁸ Clearly the aim of this substitution is to make the religious passages suitable to the Italian audience, which was not familiar with the gospel culture.³⁷⁹ Salani (1940) keeps only the last hymn and uses the

³⁷⁶ Dizionario De Mauro online <<http://dizionario.internazionale.it/parola/tacchino>> [last accessed September 2015]

³⁷⁷ This edition quotes the version of the original hymns by Bernabò Silorata (1808-1886). Silorata was a professor, translator and writer. In 1841 started to publish the Bible's poetic books and in 1880 he published a complete version of the Holy Scriptures.

³⁷⁸ Book of Revelations 15, 3 (p. 33); Book of Revelations 22, 12 and 1, 7 (p. 34).

³⁷⁹ The first extract is taken from the spiritual 'Die in the field', where the slaves sing about their eternal victory against the evil in their afterlife. <<http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/interpret/lessons/musicsugf.html>> [accessed June 2015].

same translation as that in the Salani editions for adults. Paravia still refers to the episode of the religious meeting, but omits all the songs, while Nerbini deletes the entire scene.

Considering the editions of UTC issued for the first time under the regime allows us to highlight continuities between the period under examination and the pre-Fascist period. Where there was an emphasis on the racial element in the translations this was already present in those issued before the beginning of the dictatorship targeting both young and adult audiences and that were simply re-printed during the Ventennio. For imprints that had started publishing UTC before the advent of the Ventennio, reprinting editions had economic advantages, the publication of retranslations had a 'potential positive charisma'³⁸⁰ around publishers 'that often use new translations as a positive marketing device'.³⁸¹ Therefore, it is not surprising to understand these retranslations in reasons connected to the situation of the publishing field.

Looking at their texts, the retranslations produced under the regime are evidence of two opposite translation choices: the Barion integral translation of 1928 does not seem to emphasise passages of the source text explicitly dealing with the racial theme. The Nerbini abridgement, also published in 1928, and addressing a popular audience, stresses the racial theme and shows how the Fascist colonial experience affected the reinterpretation of some episodes. These two opposite tendencies coexist and shows that multiple translational tendencies operated simultaneously during the dictatorship.

Elements from the paratext of these two editions provide us with plausible explanations for these retranslations of UTC. On the one hand, the Barion edition, starting with the preface, criticised other available translations of UTC and presents itself as an integral version that aims to remedy mistakes in other versions. On the other hand, the Nerbini abridgement appeared to address a popular audience, different from the one addressed by the same publisher with another contemporary edition. We should remember that Nerbini also published in the same year (1928) an illustrated edition of UTC reprinting the translation

³⁸⁰ Paloposki and Koskinen, 'Across languages', 34.

³⁸¹ Vanderschelden, 'Why Retranslate', 7.

already used in the Bemporad edition for children. However, the abridged version targeted another segment of the market with respect to the illustrated edition, since it was much cheaper.³⁸²

Salani 1940 was the only new edition for children published during the regime, while the other editions for children available on the market (Hoepli, Bemporad and Paravia) date back to the pre-Fascist period. This edition, thanks to its illustrations and through textual omissions and reinterpretations concerning the episodes of black literacy, provides a new depiction of Tom. He becomes a playmate of the white children and an illiterate man without any chance to be emancipated from this condition. As the Hoepli and Paravia editions were republished in that same year, while the last Bemporad edition was issued in the 1937, a commercial reason might be singled out for the Salani retranslation. In 1940 Salani launched a new series, 'I libri meravigliosi', and started to publish some foreign classics such as *Gulliver's Travels* and *Treasure Island*. It is not surprising that this series encompassed a new edition for children of UTC. The book had always been successful in Italy and this was going to be the first new edition for children in the last 30 years.³⁸³

These three retranslations, published for the first time during the dictatorship, reveal a series of contextual factors that needs to be considered when making hypotheses on the retranslation process. They seem to respond to various needs that include: the intention to correct competing translations on the market (Barion); the search for a new readership (Nerbini); and the desire to fulfil the needs of a publisher eager to launch a new series (Salani 1940). The Barion retranslation can be placed in the traditional consideration of the retranslation as an attempt 'to restore something back to the source text – something lost in previous attempts'.³⁸⁴ However, the publishing vicissitudes of the Nerbini abridgement and the Salani version for young people highlight the importance of taking into account 'the extratextual perspective',³⁸⁵ encompassing socio-cultural factors that can trigger the retranslation process.

³⁸² On the various editions prices, see section 1.4.2.

³⁸³ The other editions for children, Bemporad, Hoepli and Paravia, date respectively back to 1910 the first one and 1912 the last ones. However, Paravia was revised in 1935.

³⁸⁴ Susam-Sarajeva, *Theories on the Move*, p. 136.

³⁸⁵ Deane-Cox, *Retranslation*, p. 5.

However, the translations included in the corpus are not devoid of inner inconsistencies concerning transnational norms. Analysis of the four categories examined above shows that it is not possible to trace a neat border between norms adopted by editions for adults and those for children. On the one hand, there is the Barion case in which the premises stated in the preface by the translator are negated by at least some of the actual translational choices. The supposed return to the source text promised in the preface is actually contradicted by the domestication of proper names, foodstuff, plants and flowers. This oscillation between 'foreignising' principles and actual translation choices confirms that 'a tension between adult and child interests is a particular feature of translations or retranslations of children's classics'.³⁸⁶ On the other hand, the Bemporad case represents the link between editions for adults and those for children. This edition, although explicitly aimed at children, shows only omissions of some parts of the text. This same translation was used later, in 1928, for the Nerbini edition for adults. This choice might have been facilitated by the fact that both publishing houses were based in Florence and therefore the translation was circulating in the same city. But another reason might have been the low degree of adaptation of Bemporad's edition for children. This overlap between norms applying to translations for adults and for children was already present in editions issued before the regime.

The inconsistencies identified in the translations encompassed by the selected corpus are in the first instance due to personal choices made by the translators. However, sometimes contradictions in translational norms are due to contextual factors. An example can be the translation of 'uncle Peter' with 'zio Robbins' and 'Tom Lincoln' with 'Tommaso Lincoln' to avoid the possibility of a misunderstanding between different characters. The second example refers to the hymn inserted in the Salani edition for children. A translation of this was already circulating, since it was present in various editions for adults previously published by the same firm. The availability of a translation already made was probably sufficient to let it appear in a translation targeting the young audience.

³⁸⁶ Gillian Lathey, 'The translator revealed', in *Children's Literature in Translation*, pp. 1-18 (pp. 13-14).

There was a degree of continuity between Liberal Italy and the Ventennio with regard to publishing policies, translational practices and the representation of the racial issue. While Nerbini and Salani targeted a popular readership and a young audience with editions that reinforced a racial interpretation of the book, this was softened by translator's inconsistencies and by the coexistence of the Barion edition that did not foster a racist interpretation of specific passages.

PART II

CHAPTER 4

LITTLE WOMEN AND THE HISTORY OF PUBLISHING

4.1 Contextualisation of the book and history of publishing in the USA

When in September 1867 the editor Thomas Niles asked Louisa May Alcott to write a story for girls, she appeared sceptical about the idea. Alcott had already published short stories for young people;³⁸⁷ she was editor of the periodical for young *Merry's Museum* and column writer in *Youth Companion* and *St. Nicholas*. Nonetheless, she did not think she had much to say about girls, she stated she never liked girls much and never knew many, except for her sisters. Her professional writing activity had started only four years before. Until 1863 she had to accompany it with jobs as seamstress, teacher and domestic servant in order to support her family. In 1863, she had published her first successful book, *Hospital Sketches*, recounting her experience as a nurse in a Union army hospital, where she volunteered for two months. After that year, she was able to support herself and her family by writing full time. In the following few years she published the novel *Moods* (1865, revised in 1882), whose protagonist Sylvia anticipated the character of Jo March,³⁸⁸ and also some thrillers under the pseudonym A. M. Barnard.³⁸⁹

When Alcott received Niles' proposal, literature for children had begun to play a central role in the publishing market in the USA. Religious education institutions such as Sunday School Societies had started to recognise the need for this fiction not only to be educational, but also entertaining. This market was, however, primarily concerned with literature for boys, and with his offer to Alcott, Niles aimed to capitalise on the market for girls. *Little Women*³⁹⁰ was published on

³⁸⁷ *Flower Fables* (1854), *A Modern Cinderella* (1860), *The Rose Family: A Fairy Tale* (1864).

³⁸⁸ This novel tackled some of the themes that would occur in *Little Women*, such as the right of young and unmarried women to fully live autonomous experiences, and the value of friendship and equality as the best foundations for relationships between the sexes. See Sarah Elbert, *A Hunger for Home: Louisa May Alcott's Place in American Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), pp. 100-14 for more details on *Moods*.

³⁸⁹ *Behind a Mask* (1866), *A Long Fatal Love Chase* (1866), *The Abbot's Ghost* (1867). For more details on Alcott's first publications see Showalter, *Sister's Choice*.

³⁹⁰ Hereafter cited as LW in notes and text.

1 October 1868 and was a huge success. As she had already done with *Hospital Sketches*, Alcott drew many elements of the story from her own life. The book is set during the Civil War and recounts the story of the March family. While Mr. March is far from home, engaged in the Civil War, the four March sisters (Jo, Meg, Amy and Beth) experience the passage from childhood to adulthood and face the difficulties of everyday life under the loving guide of Marmee, their mother. In its structure the book alludes to John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*,³⁹¹ one of Louisa's father's favourite books, and which Bronson Alcott used to teach moral lessons to his daughters. Like Christian, the protagonist of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, who starts a journey towards self-improvement, the March sisters have to deal with their character flaws (impatience, shyness, vanity and selfishness) in order to become adults.³⁹²

Parallels between Alcott's life and LW can be traced in various ways. Alcott had three sisters, one of them died young like Beth in the book, and the eldest married a boy called John, exactly as Meg March does. The most obvious likeness concerns the character of Jo, the tomboy of the family who aspires to become a writer, who feels the urge to become economically independent and help her family thanks to her profession. The book is grounded in the intellectual environment and education in which Alcott was reared. Philosopher and pedagogue, Bronson Alcott provided his daughters with an education inspired by Rousseauian theories and Transcendentalism.³⁹³ For him, education was an autonomous process of personality development. Children had a great power to put into practice a spontaneous education, but the role of adults was essential to remove obstacles to their free expression, and to encourage reflection and critical

³⁹¹ The book, published in 1678, is a Christian allegory that recounts the journey of its protagonist from the earthly world to the celestial world. This work was enormously important, especially in the nineteenth century and widely read in English speaking countries and the British colonies. See Roger Sharrock (ed.), *The Pilgrim's Progress: a Casebook* (London: MacMillan, 1976), Vincent Newey (ed.), *The Pilgrim's Progress, Critical and Historical Views* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980) and Kirsty Milne, *At Vanity Fair: from Bunyan to Thackeray* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

³⁹² See Anne H. Lundin, 'Little Pilgrim's Progress: Literary Horizons for Children's Literature', *Libraries & Culture*, 41.1 (2006), 133–52 (pp. 137–38).

³⁹³ This philosophy, which developed in the eastern part of the USA and which influenced intellectuals such as Henry Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, posited a direct contact between human beings and the Divine Spirit, without any mediation by institutionalised religions. The belief in man's divinity made the search for individual identity a goal to be achieved throughout life, but did not exclude self-improvement. Transcendentalism believed in a sense of community and aspired to the constitution of a 'free society made up for self-reliant, natural men and women' (Elbert, *A Hunger for Home*, p. 38).

thinking. Bronson used to draw a moral from all the stories and conversations he had with his daughters.³⁹⁴ Marmee March is a confidante but also a discrete educational guide in LW. She is eager to advise her daughters, but also lets them experience life in order to understand what is right and wrong for them. In addition, Marmee has nonconformist opinions on marriage: she hopes her daughters will marry, but, at the same time, she does not think that is always best for them.³⁹⁵ According to Elbert, the three major themes around which the vicissitudes of the March family revolves are domesticity, the achievement of individual identity through work and in harmony with the interests of the family, and true love.³⁹⁶

In 1868, Roberts Brothers published in Boston the first edition of LW, selling 3,000 copies within a month. Since LW was not a religious book, Sunday school libraries raised concerns about it, so Niles asked Alcott for corrections for a new edition. Alcott refused to make amendments, but started to write a sequel, which came out in 1869.³⁹⁷ It continued to narrate the vicissitudes of the March family three years later. Meg marries the preceptor John; Jo becomes a famous writer and opens a school with her husband; Amy, after traveling to Europe, marries Laurie, the Marches' neighbour; as for Beth, she does not recover from scarlet fever and dies. This second part, also published by Roberts Brothers, sold 13,000 copies in the first month and provided Alcott with \$8,500 of royalties that provided her and her family with a conspicuous income, ending the economic constraints that had pushed her to write.³⁹⁸ The publication of this second part also boosted sales of part I which sold an additional 7,000 copies within a month of

³⁹⁴ Marina De Rossi, *Processi formativi e narrazione: identità e progettualità del sé rileggendo un'autrice del passato: Louisa May Alcott* (Padua: CLEUP, 2003), p. 70. For more details on the everyday educational practice of Bronson Alcott, see Charles Strickland, *Victorian Domesticity: Families in the Life and Art of Louisa May Alcott* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 20-44.

³⁹⁵ In chap. 11, 'Experiments', the March sisters are on holiday looking forward to free time for their favourite activities. Marmee lets them experience that complete idleness is not pleasant as they thought it would be. She decides to neglect any domestic work for one day, so that her daughters understand how managing a house is tiring, but also that being busy is helpful. Concerning marriage, Marmee tells Jo: 'Better be happy old maids than unhappy wives, or unmaidenly girls, running about to find husbands' in Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 95.

³⁹⁶ Elbert, *A Hunger for Home*, p. 153.

³⁹⁷ In the USA both parts were published under the same title, *Little Women*.

³⁹⁸ As Showalter had stated, 'Alcott found the economic stimulus to be the strongest motive for her urge to write professionally' (Showalter, *Sister's Choice*, p. 47).

the publication of part II. Overall sales were lower in the 1870s, but increased and accelerated in the 1880s, thanks to a new illustrated edition of part I and II published in 1880. This new edition included several textual changes mostly focused on language, since British critics considered the book 'too slangy'.³⁹⁹ Punctuation was modernised and slang, colloquialisms and New England regionalisms replaced by standard terms. Some of these changes, however, concerned the description of the personality of characters, turning LW in a 'more polished, middle class, conventional narrative'.⁴⁰⁰

Illustrations to the 1868 edition were drawn by May Alcott, Louisa's sister, but were criticised for being devoid of drama (e.g. the illustration of May skating and almost drowning).⁴⁰¹ In 1869-70 the famous illustrator, Hammat Billings,⁴⁰² provided new illustrations for part I and part II, while Frank Merrill drew images for the new 1880 edition of part I and II combined. His images underlined most fittingly the autobiographical character of the novel and recalled features of the Alcott family, perhaps as a response to the increasing curiosity of readers about Alcott's life.⁴⁰³ For instance, in some print runs of this edition, the frontispiece depicts one of Alcott's houses. Paradoxically, these 'personal' illustrations provided LW with a national meaning and the reunification of the March family at the end of the war 'metaphorically represented the reunification of the country as a whole, no longer a house divided against itself'.⁴⁰⁴

According to Lyon Clark, there are two main reasons for LW's success. The first was the presence of a crossover audience for literature for young people in the 1850s, when the market was not yet segmented into literature for the young and for adults, nor divided into books for boys and those for girls.⁴⁰⁵ Secondly, the innovative quality of Alcott's characters, offered four different models of girlhood,

³⁹⁹ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 31.

⁴⁰⁰ Gregory Eiselein and Anne K. Phillips, *The Louisa May Alcott Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 180. For instance, the Marches' young neighbour Laurie in the 1880 edition is taller than Jo, while in 1868 he is as tall as Jo. Jo becomes more feminine when she talks about her demanding Aunt March. In 1868 she states that Aunt March is so vexing that 'you are ready to fly out of the window or box her ears', in 1880 she desires only 'to fly out of the window or cry'.

⁴⁰¹ See section 5.1 for more details on illustrated editions of LW.

⁴⁰² In 1852 Billings illustrated the first edition of UTC.

⁴⁰³ From the 1850s, writers began to be considered celebrities in the USA and the overlap between Alcott's life and Jo's character further fostered readers' curiosity. See Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, pp. 18-21.

⁴⁰⁴ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 26.

⁴⁰⁵ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 10.

which made the novel stand out from more traditional literature for young that tended to feature sharp unrealistic distinctions between bad and good characters.⁴⁰⁶ Whilst specifically addressing a young female audience, perhaps for the first time in the USA, the book appealed also to adults throughout the nineteenth century. Children's literature was on the verge of undergoing gender segmentation and critics 'did not agree on how to separate Alcott's oeuvre into juvenile and adult categories'.⁴⁰⁷ The situation changed in the twentieth century when Alcott was classified by critics and publishers as a writer for a young audience.⁴⁰⁸

The shifting consideration of Alcott in relation to her audiences has a parallel in her consideration by literary critics. According to Showalter:

There can be few other books in American literary history which have had an enormous critical impact on half the reading population, and so minuscule a place in the libraries or criticism of the other.⁴⁰⁹

It is possible to identify a watershed in the critical reception of Alcott. Until the 1880s, she could be considered an author belonging to low-brow as well as high-brow culture, but after her death, in 1888, obituaries in the USA 'stressed the popularity or moral benefit of Alcott's work over its literary merit'.⁴¹⁰ This critical dismissal stood in contrast to the consistent popular success of the novel. According to library holdings, in the first decade of the twentieth century, LW reached the pinnacle of its popularity. It was a success also marked by the opening to the public of Orchard House, Alcott's home in Massachusetts where she wrote LW, and by a performance of the first authorised dramatisation of LW on Broadway. Amateur dramatizations had been staged since 1870, but in 1912 the first authorised version, written by Marian de Forest and produced by Jessie

⁴⁰⁶ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 10.

⁴⁰⁷ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. As Susan Bassnett maintained 'the way in which texts shift from being categorized as mainstream fiction to a categorisation that places them in children literature deserves a lot more critical attention' in her 'Adventure across time: Translations, Transformations', in *On Translating French*, pp. 155-70 (pp. 164-65).

⁴⁰⁹ Showalter, *Sister's Choice*, p. 42.

⁴¹⁰ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 38.

Bonstelle, opened on Broadway. The play tweaked the plot of the book emphasizing its comic aspect, reducing settings and events, toning down its strong emotions and making LW 'an icon of domesticity'.⁴¹¹

A general reason for the devaluation of LW as a book, starting in the first decade of the twentieth century, related to considerations of sentimentality.⁴¹² From the last decades of the nineteenth century, this term was charged with an increasingly negative connotation, coming to denote something overly emotional, and, in the early decades of the twentieth century, LW became 'associated with the treachery'.⁴¹³ This correlation was underpinned by the release of British and American silent film versions, respectively in 1917 and 1919. Both these versions reinforced the domestic and romantic side of LW instead of the aspect fostering women's independence. Beginning with its publicity, the American film aimed at a middle class audience already familiar with the novel and stressed the educational and moral values of the film.⁴¹⁴ While the book was dismissed by the 'gatekeepers of the academy'⁴¹⁵ and pigeonholed as literature for children,⁴¹⁶ in the first decade of the twentieth century sales were more than half of the total (598,000) published since the first edition. Alcott was at the top of the list of young people's favourites, according to polls conducted in schools, and children liked LW for the reality of her stories, as adults did.

The new reputation of the book was supported by the changing historical context. In the USA, when the suffragette movement was fighting for women rights, LW seemed to represent 'the joys of domesticity of yesteryear'⁴¹⁷ and was interpreted 'as a domestic idyll or moralizing text'.⁴¹⁸ The decline in popularity that followed was counterbalanced by the presence of the book in consumer culture: in 1915, the Jordan Marsh department store in Boston displayed dolls

⁴¹¹ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 101. See also pp. 71-75 on LW stage adaptations.

⁴¹² On this topic see Shirley Samuels, (ed.) *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) and Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: the Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁴¹³ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 80.

⁴¹⁴ See Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, pp. 79-92.

⁴¹⁵ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 43.

⁴¹⁶ The American literary canon was shifting and works such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were placed 'out of the canons of adult culture, leaving works of such power, for lack of anywhere else to go, in the nursery', quotation in Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 43.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, pp. 48-49.

dressed as LW characters, while in 1919 Marshall Field in Chicago showed Alcott doll's clothes and the kettle that Alcott used when she was a nurse. Excluded from the academic canon, LW continued to be considered useful for educational reasons, and to be one of the favourite readings for girls. As a result, it was reissued in different formats. Not only did newly illustrated editions appear between 1902 and 1929, but the book was also serialized in 1919 in American newspapers and the story of LW retold in an 8-page abridgement by Nora Archibald Smith.⁴¹⁹ The interpretation of the book as a sentimental, domestic idyll was also emphasised by the illustrations of editions published in the first two decades of the twentieth century which were seen to be 'decorative, decorous and domestic',⁴²⁰ and redolent of nostalgia for a seemingly bygone age.

Between 1890 and 1930, the book also triggered the publication of new books for the young female audience: four titles and one series recontextualised LW in different settings and revised Alcott's characters and vicissitudes (e.g. the 1894 Turner's *Seven Little Australians*, the British *Sisters Three* and the American four books of the *Three Little Women* series by Gabrielle Jackson published between 1908 and 1914) and tried to 'reimagine *Little Women* for modern girls, whether to encourage them to be more old-fashioned or to be more modern'.⁴²¹ During the first two decades of the twentieth century 'when Alcott's academic reputation was declining, her reputation among more common people was, in contrast, cresting'.⁴²² As the twentieth century progressed, LW disappeared from critical literary works on American literature.⁴²³

The novel was not only often disregarded as a book for children, but it was also deprived of the status of a classic, contrary to what happened to *Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain. Both LW and *Huckleberry Finn* can be considered as reform novels, since 'both novels rely on adolescents protagonists to advance the author's

⁴¹⁹ Nora Archibald Smith, *Boys and Girls of Bookland* (New York: McKay, 1923).

⁴²⁰ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife* p. 56.

⁴²¹ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 58. In the very popular *Seven Little Australians*, there is the oldest sister Meg enticed by a friend to be fashionable and find a true love and the next oldest sister, the tomboy of the family, called Judy whilst her real name is Helen. At the end of this story Judy dies to save the youngest of her siblings.

⁴²² Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 101.

⁴²³ E.g. *American Novel and its Tradition* (1957) and *Cycle of American Literature* (1955). See Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 103.

reform ideologies'.⁴²⁴ Through their adolescent protagonists, Jo and Huck, both these books stressed the need for a change in American society after the Civil War. However, according to Nina Baym, at that time critics, who were concerned to find a model for American works, considered Twain's novel more representative than Alcott's.⁴²⁵

Some attention was paid to the aspect of women's autonomy fostered by the book by the 1930s and this was helped by the celebrations of Alcott's birth centenary and the economic depression. Libraries and bookshops displayed new editions of Alcott's books and dolls dressed as LW characters; radio versions of the book were aired and several pieces appeared in newspapers celebrating Alcott. The American economic situation pushed journalists to stress the economic factors that almost 100 years before had driven Alcott, to write and LW started on occasion to be seen 'as carrying hints of women's independence, perhaps of women working to overcome poverty.'⁴²⁶ However, this was a short parenthesis in the interpretation of the book, which had already vanished after WWII, and 'despite some attention to Alcott's poverty and independence, her name was still associated with old-fashioned charm.'⁴²⁷ Notwithstanding the decline of popular interest in the 1950s, LW was still recommended as a reading for young people, famous women who had grown up during that period and who were and still are committed to women's rights, such as Susan Sontag, Patti Smith and Hillary Clinton, 'often remembered finding validation in Alcott's book'.⁴²⁸ According to the feminist critic Elaine Showalter, 'Alcott's American female myth shaped the lives of women of many times and places who read *Little Women*, never forgot it, and had the freedom to make different choices'.⁴²⁹

The most important homage to Alcott in the 1930s was the film directed by George Cukor in 1933.⁴³⁰ The film relied more on atmosphere, emotions, and romance than action, and, according to Lyon Clark, toned down 'the moral

⁴²⁴ Roberta S. Trites, *Twain, Alcott, and the Birth of the Adolescent Novel* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2007), p. 31.

⁴²⁵ Nina Baym, 'Melodramas of Beset Manhood: How Theories of American Fiction Exclude Women Authors', in *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*, ed. by Elaine Showalter (New York: Pantheon, 1985), pp. 63-80.

⁴²⁶ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 110.

⁴²⁷ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 111.

⁴²⁸ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 107.

⁴²⁹ Showalter, *Sister's Choice*, p. 64.

⁴³⁰ See chap. 5 for more details on Cukor's film and Katharine Hepburn's interpretation of Jo.

messages, while playing up Jo's tomboyish independence and quirkiness.⁴³¹ Most of the critics of the film reinforced the interpretation of LW as a nostalgic memory of the American past. A few, however, underscored the theme of women's autonomy supported by the interpretation of Jo by Katharine Hepburn. Cukor states that Hepburn was born to play that part. She shared several of Alcott's character features: in particular, she had grown up as a tomboy in a progressive family and supported the cause of women's rights. This caused a ready overlapping between the character and her persona, and Hepburn's interpretation inspired later characterisations of Jo.⁴³² The success of the film boosted sales of Alcott's book and stills from the film came to illustrate new editions.⁴³³

Between the end of WWII and 1960 at least 18 newly-illustrated English-language editions appeared, but except for the 1947 edition illustrated by Jambor, which stressed the theme of work in LW, all of them 'emphasized traditional feminine associations, whether children or clothes. All [...] were congruent with the postwar emphasis on domesticity and consumerism.'⁴³⁴ This shift of focus in illustrations responded to a socio-historical situation, since after the war, women, who had taken the place of men at work while they fought on the frontline, returned to their domestic tasks, while industries transformed their production into white goods now affordable to ever-greater numbers of consumers.⁴³⁵ Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the academic world and intellectual environments had consistently dismissed LW as a sentimental novel for children. Despite Alcott's novel losing popularity with the passing of time, unprofessional readers kept reading it. However, they interpreted the book in two different ways before and after WWII. At first, the theme of women's independence, often centred upon women's work, accompanied the attention paid to the still overwhelming

⁴³¹ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 123.

⁴³² Pat Kirkham and Sarah Warren, 'Four *Little Women*. Three Films and a Novel', in *Adaptations: From Text to Screen, Screen to Text*, ed. by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 81-97 (p. 86).

⁴³³ Stills were used also in Italian editions of LW, e.g. Bemporad and Aurora 1934, Bietti 1935. See chapter 5.

⁴³⁴ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 117.

⁴³⁵ See Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War. Production and Patriarchy* (London; New York: Routledge, 1989), David Ricci, *Good Citizenship in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Erika Kuhlman, *Reconstructing Power after the Great War. Women Gender and War Reconciliation between Nation* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008) and Annelise Orleck, *Rethinking American Women's Activism* (New York; London: Routledge, 2015).

romantic aspect, but, after WWII, the interpretation emphasising 'romance, domesticity, and [...] consumerism held almost undisputed sway.'⁴³⁶

4.2 *Little Women* in the UK (1869-1945) and France (1872-1945)

The publishing success of LW in the USA occasioned translations into several languages. Already in the nineteenth century versions of the novel appeared in German, Dutch, French, Danish, Greek, Russian, and Japanese. In the twentieth century, the book continued to be a success in France, was popular in Thailand, and, by 1949, went out in seven translations into Chinese.⁴³⁷ The UK positively welcomed Alcott's novel, mostly praising the reality of its characters. During the 1930s and 1940s it was an uninterrupted best seller in the UK. In 1952 a dramatisation of LW was performed in honour of Queen's Elizabeth coronation because the book was held to embody the same values of family, love, strength and unity as the British Royal Family.⁴³⁸

The long history of publishing of LW in the UK started in 1869. Overall Alcott's book was mostly published in the twentieth century (79 editions), with 29 editions in the previous century. The publishing peak of the novel in the nineteenth century was in the 1870s with 14 editions, while later the number of editions decreased to seven in the 1880s and in the 1890s. During the first decade of the twentieth century, LW reached the highest number of editions issued (23). This number remained high in the 1910s (19), 1920s (17), and 1930s (18) before ebbing, perhaps for reasons related to the war, between 1940-45 to only two editions published.

Mostly during the twentieth century, multiple editions of Alcott's book were marketed in the same year under different imprints.⁴³⁹ While in the USA the book was entitled *Little Women*, British editions started to differentiate between parts I and II, giving the second one various titles, including *Good Wives*, *Little Women Wedded* and *Little Women Married*. These titles gave an indication to readers about

⁴³⁶ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 137.

⁴³⁷ See Shouyi Fan, 'Translation of English Fiction and Drama in Modern China', *Meta*, 44.1 (1999), 154-77, (p. 171). The article takes this figure from the *General Catalogue of Publications During the Period of the Republic of China (1911-1949): Foreign Literature*.

⁴³⁸ See Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, pp. 16, 107-08 for more information on LW translations.

⁴³⁹ E.g. in 1871, 1879, 1900, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1921, 1926, 1934 and 1937. See Appendix 2 (UK).

the plot of the book and addressed the novel to an older audience. *Good Wives* expressed also a judgement on LW characters, through the adjective opening the title. In some cases a pre-title or subtitle that directly addressed a female audience was added (e.g. 1871, *Little Women: a Story for Girls*; 1878, *Little Women and Good Wives: Being Stories for Girls*; 1933, *The Louisa M. Alcott Girls' Book, Little Women and Good Wives*).⁴⁴⁰

The book was published by a vast array of publishers for both a young and an adult audience. Alcott's novel was targeted specifically at a young audience from 1869, and was published in series for adults and young people by various publishers, among which we find Sampson Low, Nelson and Collins. In 1869, Sampson Low, the first publisher of LW in the UK, published the book in the 'Opie Collection of Children's literature', and, in 1874, in the 'Rose Library: popular literature of all countries'. Nelson and Collins issued versions of LW targeting both adult and young audiences in the same year. In 1910, Nelson printed an abridged edition and a non-abridged version in the series 'Nelson's Classics' and Collins opted for the same in 1903. The production of editions for a young audience seems almost equally distributed across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with ten editions for children in the period 1869-99 and eight versions published from 1900 to 1945.⁴⁴¹ The trajectory that Alcott's novel had had in the USA, where it became a classic for children in the twentieth century, seems not to be valid for the UK.

The first French translation of LW was published in Lausanne in 1872, four years after the first American edition, with the title *Petites Femmes*. It was by Madame Remy and 'traduit librement de l'anglais avec l'autorisation de l'auteur'.⁴⁴² However, the most widespread title in French is *Les Quatres Filles du Docteur Marsch*.⁴⁴³ This title was given by Pierre-Jules Stahl, a pseudonym for Pierre Jules Hetzel, when the second French translation of LW was published, in 1888. Stahl's

⁴⁴⁰ See Appendix 2 (UK) for more details on these editions.

⁴⁴¹ The number of editions targeting young people might be higher, but it not always is possible to understand the type of audience from library records.

⁴⁴² Claire Le Brun, 'De *Little Women* de Louisa May Alcott aux *Quatre filles du docteur March*: Les traductions françaises d'un roman de formation au féminin', *Meta*, 48.1-2 (2003), 47-67 (p. 49).

⁴⁴³ See Appendix 2 (France) for the variant titles *Les Filles du docteur Marsch* and *Les Quatre soeurs Marsch*.

translation was the only one republished from 1880 to 1935,⁴⁴⁴ and, as late as the 1990s, there were at least nine versions published under this title. The transformation of the father of the March family from a clergyman into a doctor is an attempt to domesticate the text, due to the unfamiliarity of Catholic France with a married clergyman.⁴⁴⁵ The domestication is emphasised also by the pre-title *Histoire d'une famille americaine d'après Alcott* in the 1902 edition of Stahl's translation. In 1935 a new title made clear the American origin of the book turning LW into *Petites Americaines*.

The French history of publishing is shorter than the British, and there were no multiple translations published during the same year. Moreover, it was monopolised by Hetzel, the only publisher of LW until 1923, when Hachette bought its stock and republished Stahl's version with some changes.⁴⁴⁶ While Hachette was the publisher of school texts, Hetzel promoted a new type of literature for young people along with the futuristic novels ('literature d'anticipation'), such as Jules Verne's works published in the series 'Voyages extraordinaires' (e.g. *De la Terre à la Lune* and *Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*). Whilst targeting a wide audience with its cheap editions, Hetzel might be considered an innovator in the field of literature for young people.⁴⁴⁷ Overall LW was published more in the twentieth century in French (nine editions) than in the nineteenth (four). The first and only translation of the 1870s was published in 1872; during the subsequent decade the number of editions increased to three, but no edition came out in the 1890s. The first two decades of the twentieth century saw one edition each, while during the 1930s four editions of LW came out. The number decreased again in the 1940s, with only two editions published. Despite this short history of publishing, LW, or at least the character of Jo March, influenced important French writers such as Simone de Beauvoir. In her 1958 *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* she stated that she enthusiastically identified herself

⁴⁴⁴ In this year the translation by M.me Tissier de Mallerai came out with Hachette in the series 'Les meilleurs romans étrangers'. See Appendix 2 (France).

⁴⁴⁵ The French domestication concerned also the narrative frame of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that was substituted in Stahl's translation by the *Morale familiale*. See Le Brun, 'De Little Women', 50.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Hachette published in its 'Semaine des enfants' tales by the Countess of Ségur, while Hetzel in its 'Magasin illustré d'éducation et de recreation' published in 1880 *Les quatre filles du docteur March*. See Odile and Henri-Jean Martin, 'Le monde des éditeurs', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, III, pp. 159-216. Specifically on Hetzel, see pp. 197-203.

with Jo March and years later she admitted that the book first gave her the idea that marriage was not essential for her.⁴⁴⁸

The increased number of editions of LW issued during the twentieth century mirrored the progressive level of female literacy starting from the 1850s. Simultaneously, the status of woman-author developed and women read not only French authors such as Georges Sand and M.me de Stael, but also English women writers in translation (e.g. Ann Radcliffe, Jane Austen, Mary Shelley, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot).⁴⁴⁹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, a new wave of women writers started their activity, among whom Colette (1873-1954) and Sibylle Riqueti de Mirabeau (1849-1932), better known as Gyp, who wrote hundreds novels and short stories which satirised bourgeois and aristocratic society.⁴⁵⁰

The French history of publishing seems in part contrary to the differentiation of audiences that LW had in the USA. As Claire Le Brun stated, during the 1930s and 1940s LW started to be specifically published for an adult audience.⁴⁵¹ Whilst in general mostly published in series for young people ('Bibliothèque d'éducation et récréation' by Hetzel and 'Bibliothèque Juventa' by Delagrave), in 1935 the book came out in the Hachette series 'Les meilleurs romans étrangers'. It seems that the book was addressed in the first instance to a young audience, while afterwards it was aimed at adult readers. A reason for this was the early presence of series for female audience and non-conformist models of girlhood. Since the 1850s novels for girls published by the Countess of Ségur (1799-1874) had come out in specific series. Her most famous novel, *Les petites filles modèles*, was published in 1857 by Hachette in the 'Bibliothèque Rose'. This book, whose aim was 'to produce docile children and ideal Catholics',⁴⁵² recounts the story of four little girls who are always on the verge of transgressing rules, but in the end take the right path.⁴⁵³ French literature was also familiar with less

⁴⁴⁸ See Christy Rishoi, *From Girl to Woman. American Women's Coming-of-Age Narratives* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), p. 169.

⁴⁴⁹ Anne Sauvy, 'Une littérature pour les femmes', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, III, pp. 445-53.

⁴⁵⁰ Sauvy, 'La littérature et les femmes', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, IV, pp. 243-55.

⁴⁵¹ Le Brun, 'De Little Women', 50.

⁴⁵² Peter Hunt, *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 1051.

⁴⁵³ See Emi Beseghi, 'Immagini di bambine nella narrativa per l'infanzia', in *Bambine e donne in educazione*, ed. by Egle Becchi and Laura Cipollone (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1991), pp. 123-34 (p. 124).

conventional female characters. A different model for girls had already been proposed by Georges Sand in her *La petite Fadette* (1849). Set in the French countryside, Sand's novel revolves around the story of twins who both fall in love with Fadette. The little girl, whose grandmother is a folk-healer, is an outsider and unconventional character, considered a witch by her peers in the village.⁴⁵⁴

4.3 *Little Women* in Italy (1908-45)

The history of publishing of LW in Italy until 1945 was short and fragmented.⁴⁵⁵ LW was not the first of Alcott's books to be translated into Italian. Treves published earlier titles by Alcott, such as *Jack and Jill*⁴⁵⁶ in 1885 in the series for children 'Biblioteca del mondo piccino'. In 1905, Carabba published *Little Men*,⁴⁵⁷ translated by Ciro Trabalza, teacher, literary critic and grammarian, and his wife Michelina.⁴⁵⁸ Only forty years after the publication of LW in the USA and exclusively as a consequence of the successful reception of *Piccoli uomini*, did the first Italian edition of Alcott's novel appear by the same Carabba, targeting a young audience. It was still translated by the Trabalzas and appeared in two volumes entitled *Piccole donne. Da un natale all'altro* and *Piccole donne. Tre anni dopo*:

La ragione che ci ha incoraggiati a dare in luce sotto veste italiana anche *Piccole Donne* di Luisa Alcott, è, [...] la festosa e larga accoglienza che hanno ricevuto nel

⁴⁵⁴ For more details on the character of Fadette see Richard F. Hardin, *Love in a Green Shade: Idyllic Romances Ancient to Modern* (Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 99-103.

⁴⁵⁵ The only scholarly contribution on the history of publishing of LW in Italy is by Maria Iolanda Palazzolo, 'Editoria e cultura: il caso Alcott in Italia', in *E l'uomo educò la donna*, ed. by Carmela Covato and Maria Cristina Leuzzi (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1989), pp. 111-27. Hints on the history of publishing of LW can also be found in De Rossi, *Processi formativi*, pp. 165-71 and Elena Terzi, 'Dietro la maschera: una rilettura di Louisa May Alcott', in *Nel giardino di Gaia*, ed. by Emy Beseghi (Milan: Mondadori, 1994), pp. 7-25.

⁴⁵⁶ *Jack and Jill* was published in 1880 and is the last of Alcott's novels for children. It narrates the story of the two friends Jack and Jill who suffer a sledding accident. The book follows their convalescence during which they recover their physical condition while learning life lessons through activities designed by their mothers.

⁴⁵⁷ *Little Men* was published by Alcott in 1871, following the second part of LW. It recounts the vicissitudes of Jo's sons and nephews as pupils at Plumfield, the school founded by her and her husband, Mr. Baher.

⁴⁵⁸ Ciro Trabalza (1871-1936) was a schoolteacher and a university professor. He authored Italian grammars and books on education. Among his most famous works there are *Studi sul Boccaccio* (1906), *Storia della grammatica italiana* (1908), *La critica letteraria dai primordi dell'umanesimo all'età nostra* (1913). He translated Alcott's works for the publisher Carabba with his wife, Michelina Trabalza. Michelina is an obscure figure described as 'la compagna della sua vita e madre dei suoi figli'. See *Bollettino di Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, XXII (1935), 144.

mondo scolastico, letterario e giornalistico *Piccoli Uomini* della medesima Autrice, da noi egualmente tradotti e pubblicati.⁴⁵⁹

The publication of the book in two different volumes was due to the different age of the readerships targeted by the two parts of LW. The second, focused on the sentimental aspects of the March sisters, was recommended for a 'lettura familiare'.⁴⁶⁰

In Italy, the first single volume edition of Alcott's novel was published in 1934 by Aurora and was then followed by Bietti and Fiorini, while all of them omitted significant parts of the original text. Carabba, Bemporad (later named Marzocco), Corticelli and Mursia published the two parts in two volumes. While the title of the first part was, beginning with the first edition, *Piccole donne*, the second part had two different titles: *Piccole donne crescono* and *Buone mogli*.⁴⁶¹ To this respect, and contrary to what De Rossi argues, it is noteworthy that the title *Le buone mogli*, used for the first time by Bemporad in 1926 to indicate the second part of LW, is not an original Italian translation that gives an 'interpretazione sfalsante delle intenzioni di Alcott',⁴⁶² but a literal translation from the English title *Good Wives*.

Known later than in the UK and France, LW in Italy gained progressively in popularity. One edition (Carabba) came out between 1900 and 1910, two in the subsequent decade (a reprint by Carabba and the first Bemporad edition in 1916) and two in the 1920s (both by Bemporad). The number of editions increased until eight were published in the 1930s (re-edited by Bemporad and published for the first time by Aurora and Bietti), reaching ten in the 1940s (published by Marzocco, Corticelli, Mursia and Fiorini). Except for Aurora (1934) and Bietti (1935), all these editions were illustrated and targeted explicitly at a young audience. While during some years (1934, 1936, 1942 and 1943) multiple editions came out with different publishers, from 1937 to 1939 LW disappeared from the market. The reason for this absence might be found in the attitude of the regime towards foreign books for children, among which LW needs to be situated. In 1938, as mentioned in the

⁴⁵⁹ Ciro and Michelina Trabalza, 'Prefazione', p. v.

⁴⁶⁰ Palazzolo, 'Editoria e cultura', p. 118.

⁴⁶¹ See Appendix 2 (Italy).

⁴⁶² De Rossi, *Processi formativi*, p. 168.

introduction, Nazareno Padellaro openly criticised Alcott's works and warned against its representation of promiscuity and excessive freedom.⁴⁶³ Furthermore, the firm that mostly published LW, owned by the Jew Enrico Bemporad, underwent a major change during these years. After the racial laws of 1938, Bemporad was removed from his appointment and the imprint took the name Marzocco. However, another reason for the 'eclipse' of LW editions between 1937 and 1939 might be related to the wartime paper shortage.⁴⁶⁴ A new edition of LW appeared in 1940 published by Marzocco followed by the first Corticelli edition in 1941 (that was reprinted in 1943 and 1944) and by the Fiorini edition in 1945. However, the publishing boom of LW in Italy happened after WWII: between 1948 and 1989, 51 editions of Alcott's novel came out in Italy.⁴⁶⁵

The edition of LW translated by Tito Diambra, professional translator of Anglo-American literature,⁴⁶⁶ and published by Corticelli in 1942 is reviewed in *L'Italia che scrive* in the section devoted to literature for children. According to Ines Fanello, the publisher envisaged 'adeguare la veste libraria al gusto mediano Ottocento anglo-sassone, che il testo stesso fa rivivere'.⁴⁶⁷ This goal was accomplished with the help of the illustrator. Diambra modernised the language of the novel, but, at the same time, was respectful of the 'spirito garbatamente idillico dell'originale'⁴⁶⁸ and pointed out facetious passages. Reviews of the second part of

⁴⁶³ Padellaro, 'Traduzioni e riduzioni', p. 41. The responsibility of parents in the success of foreign books for young is underlined by the writer and Fascist supporter Piero Bargellini, who launched a column on literature for children in the fortnightly periodical *Primato* in 1940: 'Ora troppo spesso questi genitori hanno concluso dentro di loro, che fuor dei libri letti da ragazzi nulla di nuovo è stato prodotto, e di buono. Hanno concluso cioè, che fuor di Malot, delle Alcott, delle Burnett e dei Maeterlinck, nulla sia degno d'esser dato in mano ai loro figlioli'. In Scotto Di Luzio, *L'appropriazione imperfetta*, p. 286.

⁴⁶⁴ Forgacs and Gundle, *Mass Culture*, p. 152.

⁴⁶⁵ Still today, however, some of Alcott's works are not translated into Italian, e.g. *Flowers Fables*, *Hospital Sketches* and *Moods*. During the 1950s and 1960s monographs on Alcott appeared, but only from the 1980s did scholarly contributions start to be published. Moreover, it is worth noting that the discovery of the 'alternative' Alcott, writing thrillers under pseudonym, happened in Italy only starting from 1980, with the translation of *The Marble Woman* and with the aim to 'rovesciare l'immagine stereotipica della scrittrice-per-fanciulle-adolescenti' See Alessandra Calanchi, 'Donne sull'orlo di un pregiudizio: detection, narrativa sensazionale, editoria italiana', *Rivista di Studi Vittoriani*, IV.7 (1999), 141-53 (pp. 148-49).

⁴⁶⁶ Carotti, *Alberto Corticelli e figli: editori librai* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2000), p. 73. Diambra was the translator of several of Kipling's books published by Corticelli but, between 1927 and 1930, he also translated *Almayer's Folly* and *Typhoon* by Joseph Conrad and published by Morreale.

⁴⁶⁷ Ines Teresa Fanello, Review to *Piccole donne*, *L'Italia che scrive*, XXV.9, (1942), 167.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

LW, *Le buone mogli*⁴⁶⁹ and *Le piccole donne crescono*,⁴⁷⁰ also appeared in the same periodical. While Bemporad's *Le buone mogli* (published by Bemporad in 1926) received positive appraisals, *Le piccole donne crescono* (in the edition published by Corticelli in 1943), translated by the same Tito Diambra, was considered rambling and naïve at some points, and not suitable 'alle mentalità e agli interessi intellettuali delle signorine e delle giovani spose'.⁴⁷¹

Overall, Italian critics of literature for children expressed positive opinions on LW, pointing out different aspects of the book. Olindo Giacobbe in 1923, stated that LW belonged to that 'sano tipo di letture per ragazzi che da noi trovò un'espressione singolare e forse insuperabile col "Cuore" del De Amicis'.⁴⁷² He mostly underlined the Protestant ethics of the March family, considered as a model family with four daughters who find 'nel lavoro, nel risparmio e nello spirito d'abnegazione il modo di essere utili a se stesse ed agli altri'.⁴⁷³ Giacobbe stands out with his focus on economic aspects, but still could not help but compare LW to the Italian quintessential educational novel of the nineteenth century. Whilst De Amicis' book did not specifically target a female audience and was a non-religious celebration of values such as respect for school and the army, it shared with Alcott's novel the prominence of sentiment in children's education. As Boero and Calabrese put it, in *Cuore* De Amicis 'vuole fare del sentimento la molla dell'apprendimento umano e di quello infantile in special modo'.⁴⁷⁴ Contrary to LW, however, *Cuore* is ultimately the celebration of the educational institution, although accompanied by a strong appreciation of the family. Published in 1868, De Amicis' novel marks the pinnacle of an educational tradition of Italian literature for children that was inherently linked with the necessity of building a common linguistic and cultural ground for the recently unified nation.⁴⁷⁵ Palazzolo continued suggesting that another reason for the late reception of LW in Italy has

⁴⁶⁹ Emilia Formigini Santamaria, Review to *Le buone mogli*, *L'Italia che scrive*, IX.11, (1926), 239. *Le buone mogli* is described as 'vivace narrazione e monito di vita'.

⁴⁷⁰ Fanello, Review to *Le piccole donne crescono*, *L'Italia che scrive*, XXIX.3, (1946), 50.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Olindo Giacobbe, *Note di letteratura infantile*, p. 175.

⁴⁷³ Giacobbe, *Note di letteratura infantile*, p. 176.

⁴⁷⁴ Pino Boero and Giovanni Calabrese, *Cuore. De Amicis tra critica e utopia* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2009), p. 11.

⁴⁷⁵ Already before unification Italian intellectuals had started to promote educational readings in order to outline a model of life targeting the new generation of Italians (e.g. *Giannetto* by Luigi Parravicini published in 1837 and *Il buon fanciullo*, *Il giovanetto drizzato alla bontà* and *Il galantuomo* published in the same year by Cesare Cantù). Palazzolo, 'Editoria e cultura', p. 114.

to be indeed found in the representation of the scholastic institution. While in Italy literature for children had a special relationship with the educational issue, Alcott's novel showed a 'non-institutionalised' model of education where Jo and Meg prefer to work, Amy leaves the school in the middle of the year and Beth studies piano at home.⁴⁷⁶

Writing thirteen years later than Giacobbe, Olga Visentini emphasised the structure of the family constituted by four sisters, reared in a patriarchal family, guaranteed their mother's attention.⁴⁷⁷ Visentini accentuated the sisters' flaws ('l'una è irrequieta, l'altra vanitosa, la terza sognatrice, l'ultima timida ed ingenua')⁴⁷⁸ in order to highlight the ethical lesson of the book that is

agire su ogni carattere per infrenare i difetti e sviluppare le buone qualità, e nel ritmico svolgersi della vita d'ogni giorno fare in modo che le sorelle possano migliorarsi a vicenda.⁴⁷⁹

Visentini focused on a more traditional vision of the March sisters, which did not take into account either the realm of work or the economic sphere, but which concentrated on the sisters' self-improvement. Explicit criticism of the book was expressed by Armando Michieli, who found in the reality of Alcott's representation of foreign religion, social and family habits the main flaw of the novel for young Italian readers.⁴⁸⁰

Only two editions of LW published in Italy before 1945 contained a preface. One was by Ciro and Michelina Trabalza, the first Italian translators of LW. This preface points out the educational theme of the book, considered as a complex work, which represents the family in its role of accompanying 'lo svolgersi delle giovani vite fin oltre il loro ingresso nel mondo, per lasciarle solo quando saran

⁴⁷⁶ Palazzolo, 'Editoria e cultura', p. 121.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Piccole donne sono, invece, quattro sorelle allevate in una casa patriarcale, sotto le vigili cure della madre che le osserva nei differenti caratteri'. Olga Visentini, *Libri e ragazzi*, p. 379.

⁴⁷⁸ Olga Visentini, *Libri e ragazzi*, p. 379.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Armando Michieli, *Breve storia della letteratura per l'infanzia e la fanciullezza* (Padua: Cedam, 1937), p. 106.

divenute esse stesse educatrici di altre tenere piante'.⁴⁸¹ The foreword ends with the wish that the little women

escano insieme per tutte le aiuole fiorite d'Italia, sotto il bel sole d'Italia, tra lo sciame innumerevole di bimbi e delle fanciulle del nostro popolo meraviglioso [sic], su cui vigila un esercito di valorosi Educatori, recando a tutti il nostro saluto.⁴⁸²

The translators comment on their method of translation compared to the one used in their translation of *Little Men*. On that occasion they set the story in Italy, and introduced 'poche variazioni di nomi e di richiami'. They chose this time to keep the American setting of the novel, acknowledging however that they had intervened with wordplay, Jo's slang and the use of the plural pronoun 'you'. Pronouns were translated with 'tu' or 'voi' depending on the different situations, while wordplay and slang expressions, both linguistic elements strongly embedded in the source culture, were substituted with new ones. The translation of characters' names is also quoted by the Trabalzas as an example of the problem of settings. They believed young readers to be more capable than adults of understanding foreign elements such as proper names. For this reason, they kept the English names, but added an explanation, as for instance when the full names of the sisters alternate with their nicknames. At the end of the preface there is a list of notes to the text.⁴⁸³ Overall, there are 25 notes divided according to the different chapters in which they appear. The length of the notes is variable: from one line to almost half a page occupied by an explanation of the reference to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The list, that is encapsulated within the preface, opens with the characters' names followed by an approximate phonetic representation of their English pronunciation in brackets. This tactic was specifically aimed at young readers to free them from wondering how to pronounce names.⁴⁸⁴ However, most of the notes concern literary allusions, such as the names of characters (e.g.

⁴⁸¹ Trabalza, 'Prefazione', p. iv.

⁴⁸² Trabalza, 'Prefazione', p. v.

⁴⁸³ Trabalza, 'Prefazione', pp. xi-xiii.

⁴⁸⁴ Being a linguist, Trabalza regretted having represented the pronunciation 'all'ingrosso e con segni tutt'altro che diacritici'. An example of the pronunciation of names is the following: 'Centro dell'azione è la famiglia MARCH (pron. *Maac* col *c* come in *face*)'. 'Prefazione', p. xi. This strategy seems original, as I have not found it in any other translations for children of this period.

Primroses, Flora Mc Flimsy, Caroline Percy), titles (e.g. *The Pilgrims Progress*, *L'eredità di Redclyffe*) and also cultural allusions of different types (e. g. the American Civil War, Santa Claus, Yankees).

The second foreword is to the 1945 anonymous translation published by Fiorini, acknowledged only with a 'G.' Giving no indication of the translation choices, this foreword focuses on the characters in general, with a short digression on Jo. LW is considered as a classical representation of an idyllic family 'in cui padre e madre sono fusi tra loro e con i figli e con gli amori e le amicizie dei figli'.⁴⁸⁵ The foreword states that the novel's universal popularity is due to the presence of Jo, as the nucleus around which the novel revolves. Jo is depicted as an unforgettable character compared to Uncle Tom, Pinocchio or Don Quixote. She is described as an example of self-sacrifice and identified with all those people who prefer to suffer themselves instead of their loved ones and which, according to the author's foreword, constitute the main part of the audience. The book is described as a masterpiece with the power to appeal to young people and adults who 'forse sentono risalirsi in gola il sapore di quelle loro dolcissime prime lacrime infantili'.⁴⁸⁶ LW is seen as a sentimental, idyllic coming-of-age novel where the protagonists are involved in a process of self-improvement to become educators themselves.

Bemporad, the first to publish LW in Italy after Carabba, proposed at the beginning of the twentieth century a different kind of book for children. *Il Giornalino di Gian Burrasca* written by Vamba, published in *Il giornalino della domenica* and then in 1912 as a book, is the diary of Giannino Stoppani. The exploits of the rambunctious and boisterous Giannino were extremely successful among the readers, but were also looked at with caution by adults since 'il protagonista è un bambino che cerca di contrastare il mondo degli adulti senza nessun rispetto per la famiglia'.⁴⁸⁷ However, as he is a boy, to some extent, he is allowed to misbehave. Bemporad, however, also began to publish novels for girls that gave space to psychological descriptions of innovative female characters. Among them, for instance, there were the works by Sofia Bisi Albini (1865-1919),

⁴⁸⁵ G., 'Introduzione' to *Piccole donne* (Turin: Fiorini, 1945), p. 3.

⁴⁸⁶ G., 'Introduzione' to *Piccole donne*, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁷ Roberto Denti, 'Cambiamenti inattesi nell'editoria per bambini e ragazzi e nei suoi lettori', in *Raccontare ancora. La scrittura e l'editoria per ragazzi*, ed. by Silvia Blezza Picherle (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2001), pp. 263-74 (p. 264).

who started to represent a less explored side of femininity. In her *La nidiata*, published in 1905, two girls express their discontent during the passage from childhood to adolescence.⁴⁸⁸ Sandra longs for an adventurous life full of emotion, while Itala can be compared to Jo March. She does not like dressing as a girl, doing housework and prefers to do her father's job rather than marry.⁴⁸⁹

In the attention publishers paid to books for children, reading for girls was carefully chosen. Apart from two very successful Italian historical novels, such as *I promessi sposi* by Manzoni and *Marco Visconti* by Tommaso Grossi, the young female audience was mostly advised to read religious and improving books, *exempla* taken from hagiography or Italian history and these books were used in schools until the 1940s.⁴⁹⁰ Girls were not meant to read to improve their cultural background, but to acquire practical advice on how to manage home and family.⁴⁹¹ According to Ulivieri

La donna o meglio la bambina è stata sempre educata nel senso di 'condizionata al ruolo', che avrebbe dovuto svolgere in famiglia e all'interno della società, ma le sue conoscenze, i suoi saperi sono stati di tipo materiale, utilitaristico, collegati alle mansioni da svolgere, ovvero al saper fare. [...] L'educazione femminile viene spesso identificata con un indirizzo morale di vita e in questo senso si basa in larga parte sull'exemplum di altre donne.⁴⁹²

An example of a textbook for girls is *La fanciulla massaia* by Ida Baccini published in 1880 and reprinted until 1908. The protagonist of the book is forced to run her house due to her mother's illness. She learns how to go shopping, cook, raise children and take care of the sick. Fascist education focused on these specific

⁴⁸⁸ Her literary production was described as 'erede diretta del familismo alcottiano', in Luigi Santucci, *Letteratura infantile* (Florence: Barbèra, 1942), p. 156.

⁴⁸⁹ Silvia Blezza Picherle, *Libri, bambini, ragazzi. Incontri tra educazione e letteratura* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2004), p. 122.

⁴⁹⁰ Beseghi, 'Immagini di bambine', p. 125. Book series for children published between 1870 and 1890 included texts specifically targeting girls, e.g. 'Biblioteca istruttiva e ricreativa', 'Biblioteca rosa illustrata per i ragazzi', 'Mondo Piccino'.

⁴⁹¹ De Rossi, *Processi formativi*, pp. 166-67.

⁴⁹² Simonetta Ulivieri, 'Donne a scuola. Per una storia femminile dell'istruzione femminile in Italia', in *Educazione al femminile: dalla parità alla differenza*, ed. by Emy Beseghi and Vittorio Telmon (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1992), pp. 31-54 (p. 32).

learning aims for girls: while textbooks for boys taught them to become perfect soldiers, girls had to learn how to become 'la donna-massaia prolifica'.⁴⁹³

The circulation of this type of texts combined with the high percentage of illiteracy among Italian girls – which overall dropped from 1871 to 1911, but was still constantly higher than the male –⁴⁹⁴ seem to explain the late publication of LW in Italy. Alcott's novel is far from the nineteenth-century Italian literature for girls. While Italian women were educated to follow preconstituted models of behaviour, Alcott's little women were free to have individual experiences, to shape their own futures and to strive for success. According to Palazzolo, LW

sia pur concepito come una narrazione 'edificante', offre modelli di comportamento e valori profondamente diversi da quelli descritti dai romanzi educativi dell'epoca in Italia.⁴⁹⁵

The main difference between LW and Italian literature for girls is that the March sisters, helped only by common sense and their parents 'costruiscono autonomamente il proprio destino'.⁴⁹⁶ In relation to this, Novati underlined that a crucial point in the difficult reception of LW in Italy has to be found in Jo's emancipation, symbolised by her haircut in exchange for money. Jo cuts her hair when the family sees that Mr March is ill and Marmee decides to go to Washington to visit him. Jo asks for money from Aunt March who gives it to her, but 'accompanying the gift, as she always does, with a lecture on the family's folly and improvidence'.⁴⁹⁷ Jo's decision to sell her hair to contribute to Marmee's travel costs can be seen as a proud reply to the patronising behaviour of Aunt March, but it also reveals love for her family, self-sacrifice⁴⁹⁸ and independence. In addition, it

⁴⁹³ Ulivieri, 'Donne a scuola', p. 40.

⁴⁹⁴ From the 14 per cent of difference in 1871, to 9 per cent in 1911. See Ulivieri, 'Donne a scuola', p. 41.

⁴⁹⁵ Palazzolo, 'Editoria e cultura', p. 118.

⁴⁹⁶ Palazzolo, 'Editoria e cultura', p. 122.

⁴⁹⁷ Elizabeth Langland, 'Female Stories of Experience: Alcott's *Little Women* in Light of Work', in *The Voyage In. Fictions of Female Development*, ed. by Elizabeth Abel, Marianne Hirsch and Elizabeth Langland (Hanover, NH; London: University Press of New England, 1983), pp. 112-27 (p. 122).

⁴⁹⁸ That same night Jo cries over her beloved hair sobbing 'It's only the vain, selfish part of me that goes and cries in this silly way'. See Alcott, *Little Women*, p. 161.

expresses defiance towards feminine fashion rules which prescribed long hair for women.⁴⁹⁹ According to Novati, giving away her hair is

un rito di iniziazione e scambio che allude alla parità, all'uguaglianza educativa, alla crescita comune e condivisa dai due sessi [...]: idee pericolose per l'Italia-Cuoredipendente che spiegano come il romanzo [...] suscitasse diffidenza per la pedagogia liberatoria e democratica che proponeva.⁵⁰⁰

The more traditional models of education for girls conveyed by Italian literature led the feminist writer Maria Luisa Bulgheroni to state in 1954 that she found in Jo 'a model of rebellious femininity'.⁵⁰¹ That LW constituted an innovative model for girls in post Fascist Italy is clear when reading the letters written to the left-wing educational magazine for young *Il Pioniere*. As Franchini maintained:

Nel corso degli anni Cinquanta, per le ragazzine uno dei punti di riferimento di tale moderna capacità femminile di coniugare pubblico e privato era [...] *Piccole donne* della Alcott.⁵⁰²

With respect to this, the influence that LW exercised on the female readership in post WWII Italy might find a significant representation in the recent worldwide

⁴⁹⁹ As McCallum underlined, this gesture can convey opposite meanings at the same time. As a symbol of self-assertion and economic independence it 'expresses conventional masculine qualities', but as a gesture of self-sacrifice and self-denial it is an act of self mutilation and therefore 'it expresses conventional feminine qualities' in Robyn McCallum, 'The Present Reshaping the Past Reshaping the Present: Film Versions of *Little Women*, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 24.1 (2000), 81-96 (p. 89).

⁵⁰⁰ Laura Novati, *Il centoromanzi dell'Ottocento* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1990), pp. 297 – 300 (p. 300). See section 5.2 on the omission of illustrations depicting Jo's haircut in Italian editions of LW.

⁵⁰¹ Lyon Clark, *The Afterlife*, p. 108.

⁵⁰² Silvia Franchini, *Diventare grandi con il "Pioniere" (1950 – 1962). Progetti di vita e identità di genere nella piccola posta di un giornalino di sinistra* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2006), p. 47. *Il Pioniere* was published from 1950 to 1962 and promoted the cultural and pedagogical principles of the PCI. In the letters addressed to Dina Rinaldi, director of the magazine, girls demands unveiled more traditional needs than those envisioned by the magazine. They asked for pages devoted to 'consigli utili, modelli per abiti, ricette e tutte le cose che possano interessarci', but also to novels such as *Piccole donne*. Dina Rinaldi did not seem particularly compliant with these requests, as she granted a page devoted to girls readers only once in a while, while suggesting to publish 'romanzi e avventure con anche personaggi femminili'. In Franchini, *Diventare grandi*, pp. 110-12 (letter of Maruska C. published in *Il Pioniere*, 35, 15 September 1957).

successful tetralogy *L'amica geniale* by Elena Ferrante, recounting the friendship between Elena and Lila started in the 1950s. At the beginning of the story, the two protagonists as children buy together a copy of *Little Women* and Alcott's story fuelled their aspiration to become writers.⁵⁰³ Only from the Sixties onwards did the first lively, ironical and curious girls start to appear in Italian literature when writers such as Bianca Pitzorno (1942) and Beatrice Solinas Donghi (1923-2015) started their professional activity.⁵⁰⁴

The comparative analysis carried out in this chapter has highlighted the particular Italian reception of LW as this novel arrived in Italy later than in the UK and France. Its late reception can be mostly explained in relation to the traditional model of girlhood proposed in nineteenth-century Italy by publishers for young people, but also by the presence of an Italian literature for children centred on the building of a shared national identity through the scholastic institution.

The persistence of an education for girls focused on the traditional roles of wife and mother until the end of the Fascist regime, however, did not impede the publication of LW in Twentieth-century Italy. First translated in 1908, the novel gained progressive popularity and received an important boost in its number of editions thanks to its film version, released in Italy in 1934. The only low moment of Alcott's book was between 1937 and 1939, at a time when the regime was reinforcing its control of translations and when the wartime paper shortage did not favour editions of a book opposed by the regime. However, in 1940 the publication of Alcott's novel started again and boomed after the end of WWII. At that time it came to represent an anchor of modern femininity, at a time when new women writers of Italian literature for girls began to represent vivacious and resourceful female characters.

⁵⁰³ Elena Ferrante, *L'amica geniale*, 4 vols (Rome: E/O, 2011-2014).

⁵⁰⁴ Beseghi, 'Immagini di bambine', pp. 131-32. For instance, in 1985 Bianca Pitzorno published *L'incredibile storia di Lavinia*, which recounts the story of a little match girl who, on Christmas Eve, receives as a gift a ring with the power to turn people and objects into excrement.

CHAPTER 5

VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS

5.1 Anglo-American illustrations⁵⁰⁵

The long history of American illustrated editions of LW began in 1868 when May Alcott, Louisa's sister, illustrated the first edition of the novel.⁵⁰⁶ The frontispiece of this edition would become iconic and depicts Marmee sitting in her armchair surrounded by her daughters. May focussed on the allegorical meaning of the book, according to which the four sisters make a journey of self-improvement leaving behind their character 'burdens'. In this edition each sister is the protagonist of an illustration except for Jo, the principal character, who appears only in the frontispiece.⁵⁰⁷ Amy is depicted skating, Meg is looking at herself in the mirror just before going to a ball, Beth is running towards her father returning home. However, not only were critics concerned that May's illustrations were not appealing because they were weakly drawn and not convincing in conveying the allegorical message of the novel, but Louisa was also concerned about by their flaws.⁵⁰⁸ In 1869, the publisher Roberts Brothers appointed Hammat Billings for the illustrations to the second volume, and, in 1870, when both volumes were published together, Billings dropped the frontispiece and the image of Meg at the

⁵⁰⁵ The following editions Anglo-American illustrated editions of LW were consulted for the comparison with the Italian ones: Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1870; London: Ward, Lock and co., 1878; London: Sampson, Low, Marston & co., 1907; London, Edinburgh, Dublin, New York: Nelson and Sons, 1911; London: RTS, 1913; London: Kelly, 1914; Philadelphia: Winston, 1926; London, Edinburgh, New York, Toronto and Paris: Nelson and Sons, 1932; London: Harrap & co., 1933; London: Juvenile Productions, 1937; London: Pictorial Art LTD, 1947; London: Dent, 1948.

⁵⁰⁶ The only essay which tries to trace a history of illustrations of LW in American editions is Susan R. Gannon, 'Getting Cozy with a Classic. Visualizing *Little Women* (1868-1995)', in *Little Women and the Feminist Imagination*, ed. by Janice M. Alberghene and Beverly Lyon Clark (New York; London: Garland, 1999), pp. 103-38. Most of the information regarding the American history of illustrations is taken from it.

⁵⁰⁷ Jo does not appear in the illustration where Amy is depicted skating. The scene is devoid of any drama and does not hint at any conflict between the sisters.

⁵⁰⁸ Critics of the newspaper *The Nation* thought illustrations were 'indifferently executed', betraying 'a want of anatomical knowledge', 'indifference to the subtle beauty of the female figure', and even 'a failure to pay attention to the text'. Beth, the quietest of the sisters, seems to fly, rather than run, towards her father returning home and the scene depicting Meg was called by the editors of Alcott's letters as 'a freakish illustration' (Gannon, 'Getting Cozy', pp. 105, 111-12).

mirror and substituted them respectively with Laurie, Jo and Amy at Aunt March's and with a scene portraying Laurie asking Meg to dance at the Moffats' ball. These substitutions, formally more elaborated than those by May Alcott, did not emphasise any major theme in the novel, however.

When the following edition of *LW* went out, in 1880, it carried 200 drawings by Frank Merrill. His mostly realistic drawings witnessed a shift in the publisher's approach to the novel that stressed Alcott's autobiographical references and sought to promote Alcott as 'an author whose work would civilize as well as entertain the young'.⁵⁰⁹ This edition opened with a picture of Orchard House, the Alcott's home, where Louisa wrote and set the novel. Merrill intervened and downplayed the sentimentality of the book, choosing to illustrate 'moments of absurdity and unexpected humor'.⁵¹⁰ He also highlighted the experience of the male characters of the novel, including, for instance, an image of Mr March on the sofa surrounded by his family.

With subsequent illustrated editions, recurring choices of pictures can be identified. Usually the cover or frontispiece showed a group scene taken from the first chapter. Subsequently, at least one picture was devoted to each sister with some formalised choices being made for illustrations: Amy usually drawing, Beth playing the piano, and Meg in a ball dress. Contrary to the first illustrated edition, Jo progressively gained importance in the visualisation of the story, and was portrayed in more than one scene, mostly cutting her hair, refusing Laurie and writing. The growing attention to Jo as a writer is evident from the 1903 Brown edition illustrated by Alice Stephens, where Jo was represented on the title page sitting at her desk and, later, writing in the attic and reading her first published story, intent on the newspaper. At the same time, during the first decade of the twentieth century the wholesome, domestic sentiments of the novel began to acquire old-fashioned connotations. Not surprisingly, this interpretation was reflected in the illustrations that stressed the gentility and elegance of the March family besides the romantic side of the novel. The characters were drawn in

⁵⁰⁹ Gannon, 'Getting Cozy', p. 116.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.* E.g. Mr. Lawrence hooking a big fish.

colourful, delicate sketches and editions often featured scenes of couples caught in intimate moments.⁵¹¹

When George Cukor's film was released in the USA, film stills began to appear in printed editions of LW. The story of film stills photography began around 1910-11 for commercial reasons. With the growing number of filmgoers, film companies needed to publicise their productions; therefore, stills were used in posters, magazines and newspapers to advertise films.⁵¹² When films based on novels appeared during the 1920s and 1930s, editions of these novels might appear illustrated by the respective film stills, in so-called photoplay editions.⁵¹³ At least two photoplay editions went out in the USA immediately after the release of Cukor's film: the first appeared in 1933 by the publisher of popular novels and photoplays A. L. Burt⁵¹⁴ in Chicago and New York, and the second in the series 'The Big Little Book' in 1934 by the Whitman Publishing Company, a publisher for children, in Racine, Wisconsin.⁵¹⁵

The title page of Burt's edition shows Jo reading a book sitting in an armchair. The second still depicts Amy holding a mini blackboard in her hands with the sentence 'I am ashamed of myself', as a punishment for bringing pickled limes to school against the rules. These two stills were taken from the first scenes of the film that have Jo and Amy as protagonists. Unexpectedly, only in third place was there a group image of the girls (the only one where Meg appears), while the last one is the iconic image of Beth at the piano. The cover of the Whitman edition featured the faces of the March sisters.⁵¹⁶ The first images illustrate the first

⁵¹¹ See Gannon, *Getting Cozy*, pp. 123-25 (e.g. the 1903 American Brown edition illustrated by Alice Stephens and the 1904 English edition published by Arthur Person and illustrated by H. M. Brocks)

⁵¹² The film stills were mainly of two different types: stills made on the set and portraits of stars that were usually taken in separate studios. Apart from being used in newspapers and magazines, these portraits were turned into postcard photos produced by film companies in order to promote their stars. See Joel Waldo Finler, *Hollywood Movie Stills: Art and Technique in the Golden Age of the Studios* (London: Titan Books, 2011), pp. 11-14.

⁵¹³ Photoplay editions were editions of novels produced to accompany silent films and films of the early sound era. They were, most likely, original novels reprinted with stills from the films or novelisations from the screenplay. One of the most prolific American publishers of photoplay editions was Grossett & Dunlap in New York, which published among the others J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan* in 1911, Grace Livingston Hill, *The Mystery of Mary* in 1912 and Henry Macmahon, *The Ten Commandments* in 1924. Among the few studies on the photoplay, see Emil Petaja, *Photoplay Edition* (San Francisco, CA: SISU, 1975).

⁵¹⁴ Among the photoplays published by A. L. Burt there were *David Copperfield* 1913, *Vanity Fair* 1923, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1935.

⁵¹⁵ Gannon, *Getting Cozy*, mentions only the photoplay edition in 'The Big Little Book' (pp. 127-28).

⁵¹⁶ According to Gannon, the cover 'looks very much like the sort of tinted-lobby card films the period used for advertising purposes'. In Gannon, 'Getting Cozy', p. 127. The composition of the

chapter of the book, showing Marmee reading her husband's letter surrounded by her girls, a close-up of Jo and the girls preparing the table for the Christmas meal. Among Burt's illustrative choices mentioned by Gannon two had an influence on the Italian editions of the book. The first is the portrait of Beth coyly smiling over her piano, which would become the cover of the Bemporad edition of 1934. The second is the omission of the ice-skating scene, as this image is absent from photoplay Italian editions.⁵¹⁷

5.2 Italian illustrations

Italian editions of LW published before 1945 were mostly illustrated, and witnessed a transnational circulation of images. Images produced in the Anglophone context, illustrations and film stills, strongly affected Italian illustrators and the actual circulation of film stills, which appeared not only in books, but also in magazines. Despite the influence of Anglo-American illustrations on Italian reception, it is possible to identify significant omissions and particular choices in Italian illustrated editions that cast light on how women were considered in Italy during the period under examination. Overall, Italian editions of LW did not stress any of Alcott's own autobiographical elements, at least not through visual elements. None of them use the picture of Orchard Yard, even though the introduction to Fiorini's edition in 1945 pinpointed the similarities between Alcott and Jo, stating that Louisa 'si era mascherata da Jo e si era tuffata a capofitto nelle vicende del romanzo'.⁵¹⁸ Whilst the identification between Alcott and Jo was not stressed in Italian translations, newspaper and magazine reviews emphasise the overlap between the character of Jo and the persona of Katharine Hepburn.⁵¹⁹

The first Italian illustrated edition was published by Bemporad in 1916 and reprinted for the first time in 1926. Its illustrations were by Fabio Fabbi (1861-1945). As usual in Anglo-American editions, the first image was a group picture.

cover image is indeed recalled in the film poster of *Signorinette*, a film directed by Luigi Zampa in 1943, based on the eponym novel by Wanda Bontà (1938).

⁵¹⁷ Gannon, 'Getting Cozy', p. 127.

⁵¹⁸ G., 'Introduction' to *Piccole donne*.

⁵¹⁹ See section 5.3 and section 5.4.

Bemporad's cover, a delicate watercolour with fuzzy contours, depicts a bucolic scene (Image 13). It represents the four sisters in a wood while one of them is reading, allegedly Jo since she was the one more inclined to reading and she is the only one with her hair tight in a bun. The non-realistic atmosphere makes it hard for the reader to understand the identity of the sisters. Except for Jo and Meg, since she is the only brown haired, the other two sisters are hardly recognisable.⁵²⁰ They seem all to be listening to Jo reading. The cover shares some similarities, mostly in relation to colour, with the edition by the RTS Society published in London in 1913 and illustrated by Harold Coppins (Image 14). Coppins, however, depicted the girls listening to Jo while doing their favourite activities. Thanks to this likely dependency, it is possible to distinguish between Amy and Beth. Both of them are blonde on this cover, but Amy is portrayed drawing, her favourite activity.⁵²¹

The Bemporad edition contained three more illustrations. The first image depicts a minor episode, when old Mr Laurence, the Marches' neighbour, is at the fishmongers and looks at a woman leaving the shop with a big fish. The image refers to the episode, narrated by Beth, in which Mr Laurence buys a fish for a young woman who was in the shop asking for fish in exchange for some cleaning (Chap. 4, 'Burdens'). Frank Merrill illustrated this episode for the first time in 1880, drawing a scene aimed to produce an ironic effect on the reader by contrasting the rather unsociable and apparently unpleasant character⁵²² with the action of hooking a fish (Image 15). In Bemporad the scene takes place in the following moment. Mr Laurence has already hooked the fish and given it to the woman, so the illustration underlines his generosity, also stressed in the caption 'ed essa si è affrettata ad andar via, così contenta...' (Image 16). This reinterpretation of the scene seemed to belong exclusively to the Italian reception of LW illustrations, since not only was it infrequently reproduced in the English editions, but also

⁵²⁰ According to Alcott's first description of the sisters Meg has brown hair, Jo has her hair bundled into a net, Amy has curly yellow hair, while Beth is depicted only as 'smooth-haired'. See Alcott, *Little Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 8.

⁵²¹ In 1926 the Winston edition published in Chicago opted for the same scene on the cover, but also in this case the sisters show some distinctive features.

⁵²² In chap. 5 'Being neighborly' Laurie describing his grandfather states 'Grandpa lives among his books, and don't mind much what happens outside' in Alcott, *Little Women*, p. 50.

when it was the scene recalled more directly Merrill's one as Mr. Laurence was always portrayed catching a fish with his walking stick.⁵²³

The second illustration portrays the iconic encounter between Meg and Laurie at the Moffat's ball, while the third shows another minor episode when Jo and Laurie are out rowing (chap. 11 'Experiments'). As with Mr Laurence at the fishmonger, Merrill also drew this. The portrayal of rowing is not widespread in other editions consulted,⁵²⁴ and only appears in the set of illustrations by Percy Tarrant in the 1926 English edition published by Harrap & Co. However, Tarrant depicted Jo and Laurie in a different setting and surrounded by other people in chap. 12 'Camp Laurence'. It may be that Fabbi chose to reproduce this scene because of the prominence that Merrill himself gave to this picture, putting it at the very beginning of the chapter.⁵²⁵

The last Bemporad illustration shows Amy praying for her sister Beth who is suffering from scarlet fever (Image 17). This image was unprecedented. The episode of Amy praying in front of a picture of the Virgin Mary is narrated in chap. 19 'Amy's will' when Amy is sent to her aunt's house because of her sister's illness. However, the image that traditionally mostly represented Amy in this chapter was of her dressing up in old costumes found in a room at her aunt's and in the company of her aunt's parrot (Image 18). It is worth noting that Merrill also stressed the religious aspect of the chapter, including a religious picture of the maternity at the end of it. Illustrators interpret the text according 'to a specific audience, a specific ideology or a specific artistic trend, according to the time when the pictures are produced and the illustrator's value and ideology'.⁵²⁶ Bemporad's reworking of the religious theme might be due to the will to underline the importance of religion in the girls' education, but could also be affected by the background of its illustrator. Fabbi depicted several religious pictures during his

⁵²³ Alcott, *Little Women*, illustrated by Inglis (London: Nelsons and Sons, 1932) and *Little Women* illustrated by Heade (London: Pictorial Art Ltd, 1947).

⁵²⁴ See n. 505.

⁵²⁵ This hypothesis is argued on the basis of the popularity of Merrill's illustrations. Archival research might offer a different explanation to the illustrator's choice.

⁵²⁶ Nilce Pereira, 'Book Illustration as (Intersemiotic) Translation: Pictures Translating Words', *Meta*, 53.1 (2008), 104-19 (p. 114).

career and, particularly, took part in competitions on the subject of the Virgin Mary.⁵²⁷

There seems to have been a transnational circulation of illustrations for the Bemporad edition, since it appears heavily influenced by Merrill's illustrations. At the same time, this publisher does not seem to choose from Merrill's repertoire of images following a clear rationale, since minor episodes are illustrated alongside better known ones (such as Meg at the ball). Overall, wholesome sentiments such as generosity and religious devotion are stressed, but these are too generic to indicate a necessarily intentional choice. It seems more plausible to credit them to Fabbi's reworked version of images and his professional background.

1934 marked a watershed for Italian editions of LW. The 1926 Bemporad edition was reprinted and nine stills from the film version replaced the drawings. The image of Beth playing the piano became the cover (Image 19), while inside illustrations privileged group stills. The first group still is taken from the scene of the Christmas breakfast and was followed by the sisters and Marmee sewing together and sharing anecdotes, the girls close to the piano given to Beth by Mr Laurence, and the girls greeting their mother leaving to visit Mr March. The remaining stills mostly focus on Jo. She is depicted playing the part of Roderigo in the play *A Gloomy Wood*, staged at the March's house on Christmas day (Image 20), in Laurie's company at Mrs Gardiner's party on New Year's Eve (Image 21), and with Laurie and his grandfather. The last still displayed in the book was taken from the scene in which John Brooke, Laurie's tutor, declares his love for Meg. Stills from the film, allegedly bought by RKO, the American studio that produced Cukor's film, were circulating widely at the same time in Italian magazines. *Cinema Illustrazione*, for instance, used some stills shown in Bemporad (the photos in which Beth is at the piano and Jo is playing Roderigo) in a review of Cukor's film plus a variation on the theme of the scene in which Jo and Laurie are at Mrs Gardiner's (Image 22).⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ In 1899 he participated in the first competition announced by Vittorio Alinari on the theme of the Virgin and Child displaying two pictures 'Mamma' and 'Madonna alla spiga'. In 1902 he also participated in the second edition on the theme 'Alla vita della Madonna'. See [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fabio-fabbi_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fabio-fabbi_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed March 2016].

⁵²⁸ 'Piccole donne', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 31 (1934), 8-9 (p. 8). This practice was valid also for Italian films for which 'photographs of approved quality were distributed (...) to the domestic and international press', in Stephen Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream Factory: Film Stardom in Fascist Italy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), p. 29. This same film review was accompanied by two group stills, different from those chosen by Bemporad (the first depicts Jo reading to Amy and Meg and

Subsequent Italian editions were affected by the direction taken by Bemporad. The Aurora edition, also published in 1934, displayed on the cover a photo of Jo reading in an armchair, which had already been used as cover in the photoplay published by Burt Company in the USA in 1933 (Image 23), and on the back a photo of the sisters' happy, surprised reaction to the piano given by Mr Laurence. Bietti, in 1935, chose as its cover a still representing Marmee and the servant Hanna checking Jo's dress before the New Year's Eve party (Image 24). Bietti stated on the cover that the still was a photo taken from LUX of Turin, the company that distributed the film in Italy.⁵²⁹ Stills continued to appear in the Bietti reprint of 1936 and in the Marzocco 1940 one that used the same ones as Bemporad 1936.

After WWI, Italian and European cinema went through a period of poor fortunes due to the disruption of production and distribution of film. Nonetheless, starting from 1925 and increasingly throughout the 1930s, cinema had been recognised by the regime as a powerful, immediate instrument of education and propaganda. 1925 saw the creation of Istituto Luce, the first Italian cinema corporation, whose aim was the diffusion of popular culture and general education through 'visioni cinematografiche messe in commercio alle minime condizioni di vendita possibile o distribuite a scopo di beneficenza e propaganda nazionale e patriottica'.⁵³⁰ Whilst the regime created venues such as the 'Biennale del cinema' at Venice to promote foreign films, it also aimed to promote national films that could again raise the profile of Italian cinema. Among the measures taken in the early 1930s to foster the Italian film market, cinemas were forced to screen a minimum number of Italian films. Between 1932 and 1933 the screening of sound films dubbed abroad was forbidden, while the dubbing of foreign films was taxed.⁵³¹

the second is the iconic portrait of Marmee with her daughters), and by two large portraits of Hepburn as to attract readers' attention.

⁵²⁹ The cinematographic company Lux was founded in Turin in 1934 by Riccardo Gualino and, until 1939, ultimately distributed RKO films in Italy. See *Storia del Cinema Italiano*, 5 vols, 1934-1939, ed. by Lino Micciché, Orio Caldiron (Venice: Marsilio, 2006), p. 122.

⁵³⁰ Daniela Manetti, *Un'arma poderosissima: industria cinematografica e Stato durante il fascismo, 1922-1943* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2012), p. 51. From 1926 cinemas were forced to include in their film schedules films provided by Istituto Luce.

⁵³¹ See Manetti, *Un'arma poderosissima*, pp. 62-78.

The Corticelli edition of 1941 stands out because it was illustrated by drawings that referred back to film stills already circulated in previous editions of LW and magazines. Not only did Corticelli's portraits of the sisters recall actresses in Cukor's film, but also some of the scenes represented allude to the film. The scenes in which Jo acts on the stage (Image 25), the girls and Marmee sew and share anecdotes, Jo is with Laurie and Mr Laurence, derive from film stills used by Bemporad 1934. The first two group scenes that opened Corticelli's edition imitated two film stills reproduced in the review published in *Cinema Illustrazione* 31 already mentioned. The influence of the film version seems to stop in 1941, since the latest edition of LW published by Fiorini in 1945 did not show any trace of film stills. Bemporad, Bietti and Aurora bought the rights to use film stills from Lux or RKO Pictures as stated in their editions. The reasons why Corticelli and Fiorini did not use film stills are possibly due to publishing choices, but it can also be speculated that they did not buy the rights to use them.⁵³² This did not have to be linked with the price of the Corticelli edition at least, as it costed L. 40, much more than the Bietti, Bemporad and Aurora editions (priced between L. 3 and L. 10). This return to illustrations is most likely due to the period of hostility towards American cinema in Italy. As with publishing, the regime increased its control on foreign products in 1938, when ENIC ('Ente Nazionale Industrie Cinematografiche') was assigned a monopoly on the distribution of foreign films.⁵³³ As a consequence, American studios, which could no longer sell their films to the highest bidder, boycotted the Italian market,⁵³⁴ and photos and news about Hollywood stars disappeared from cinema magazines.⁵³⁵ It is not implausible, therefore, to see the way the stills also disappeared from the publishing market as affected by such developments.

Italian photoplay editions of LW aimed at different types of audience. Bietti was the only edition situated in the lowest price range, being sold at L. 3 in 1935.

⁵³² This remains only an hypothesis for the Fiorini edition as it did not display its price. Therefore it is not possible to argue that its cost did not allow the purchase and consequent use of film stills.

⁵³³ However, there were differing opinions among the regime's representatives on the need to bring the whole cinema system under public control, and so the regime did not manage to bring it 'wholly within the public domain'. Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream Factory*, p. 25. Among the supporters of a cinema completely controlled by the state was Luigi Freddi (1895-1977).

⁵³⁴ Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream Factory*, p. 29.

⁵³⁵ De Berti, *Dallo schermo alla carta*, p. 39. As a consequence, cinema magazines fostered a 'divismo italiano', but this was shaped on American stardom.

Bemporad and Marzocco were priced between L. 5.50 and L. 6 in the period 1934 and 1940, while Aurora 1934 was sold at L. 10, which corresponded to the price of a luxury edition at that time.⁵³⁶ The prices of weekly magazines varied according to the quality of the edition and the number and quality of photographs reproduced. The average price for magazines published between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s was around 60 cents.⁵³⁷ Specifically, *Cinema Illustrazione*, which contained film stills published in volume editions of LW, was priced at 50 cents. De Grazia recalled that at the eve of WWII 'an average clerk's family disposed of perhaps 40 lire a month for recreation', with a rather low expense on books and periodicals.⁵³⁸ The data suggest that readers of these magazines were able to afford Bietti's edition, and could perhaps buy the Bemporad and Marzocco, while Aurora seems to have been less affordable. The price of photoplays, therefore, did not entirely even out against the average price of weekly magazines, but was aimed at a wider public.

A transnational circulation of illustrations of LW can be argued from the use of the same stills in Italian editions and magazines and American photoplay editions and from the reworking of drawings already circulating in the Anglo-American tradition of illustrations. However, while drawings originated from the book, stills originated from a different medium and were chosen by the studios. They aimed to attract a broad public, both those who had not seen the film and those who had seen it and wanted a souvenir of their favourite stars. In both cases, the book ultimately seems to have become a vehicle for promoting the film. Illustrations and stills could be reused as they were, but, though illustrations could be reworked, stills could only be used as inspiration for new drawings. The reproducibility of photographs occasioned the highest degree of homogenisation. Stills led the reader to interpret the book in a narrower way than illustrations, namely through the lens of the film's director.⁵³⁹ What is more, the choice of stills

⁵³⁶ See Ferme's quote in section 1.4.2.

⁵³⁷ *Cine Sorriso Illustrato* was sold for 30 cents (1930), *Cinema Illustrazione* for 50 cents in the 1930s, *Cine Cinema* for L. 1 in the 1920s and the fortnightly *Cineomnia* for L. 1.50 (1935).

⁵³⁸ In addition to this, 'publications were costly, and working-class girls had to hoard their centesimi before buying their weekly novellina'. In De Grazia, *How Fascism*, p. 131.

⁵³⁹ The enormous change occurring with the invention of photography affected first of all the production of the work of art. As Benjamin put it 'photography freed the hand from the most important artistic tasks in the process of pictorial reproduction – tasks that now devolved upon the eye alone'. See Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 20.

was limited to those photos that film studios sold, while the repertoire from which an illustrator could be inspired was theoretically infinite.

Apart from general considerations about the circulation of visual representations of LW, the advent of film stills marked an emphasis on the character of Jo in Italian editions, which was most likely due to Katharine Hepburn's interpretation.⁵⁴⁰ The 1926 Bemporad edition devoted three out of nine illustrations to Jo. This grew in the 1941 Corticelli edition, where five out of the nine drawings depicting Jo did so by portraying her with Laurie, thereby underlining their close relationship. In the last edition of LW published during the Ventennio, the 1945 Fiorini edition, Jo was represented in half of the illustrations, alone or accompanied by different characters. Already in the USA 'popular retellings and visualizations tend to emphasise Jo's personal story, to separate it from her sisters' stories'.⁵⁴¹ However, while in the USA this tendency was registered from the beginning of the twentieth century, it seems that in Italy the emphasis on Jo and her personal story resulted from the influence of the film, since it started with Bemporad 1934. The most nonconformist, modern character gained importance thanks to the mediation of the latest modern invention, the cinema.

Whilst Jo was also represented in Italy in some famous scenes (acting on stage, at the ball with Laurie, with Mr Laurence) there is one iconic image absent from Italian editions. She is never represented having her hair cut or with short hair.⁵⁴² The scenes of Jo at the barber's shop and Jo with short hair have a long tradition in the Anglo-American context, since they were represented from Merrill onwards. At least one of these images was displayed in six editions published in the UK and in one case the illustration with a shorthaired Jo was at the front of the book before the inner title page.⁵⁴³ This episode appears also to be crucial in the three film versions. Cukor's version highlighted the comic side of the scene: he closed up on Jo's hair and on her making odd faces and explained the reasons for her gesture in order to downplay the dramatic reactions of Marmee and her sisters. The 1949 film stressed the responses of the other characters, while June Allyson in the role of Jo had an impassive facial expression inviting a

⁵⁴⁰ See section 5.3.

⁵⁴¹ Gannon, 'Getting Cozy', p. 134.

⁵⁴² See section 4.3 for the influence that this particular action might have had on the late reception of the novel in nineteenth-century Italy.

⁵⁴³ Alcott, *Little Women*, ill. by S. van Abbé (London: Dent, 1948).

compassionate gaze from viewers. In Armstrong's 1994 film Jo's speech is shorter and the dramatic tones of the book are omitted. Marmee's reaction is sympathetic and the camera focuses more on her than on Jo. Differently from the two previous versions, the camera circles around Jo, keeping the other characters on shot and maximising the reaction of the female observers.⁵⁴⁴

This only seemingly secondary episode might have represented a controversial theme in the illustrated editions of LW published under the Ventennio. The fashion of short hair was seen as a threat to the idealised canon of women's beauty fostered in Fascist Italy. The regime promoted beauty that recalled Renaissance painting, and idolised the image of the young peasant woman to be counterpoised to the so-called 'donna crisi', who was thin and well groomed, cosmopolitan and vaguely androgynous.⁵⁴⁵ In 1925, Sibilla Aleramo published her short story *Capelli corti*. In this story, she wrote about her choice to cut her hair, and stated that, at that time, this gesture did not imply sacrifice, or rebellion, but just being fashionable and more practical. This aesthetic choice, however, according to Aleramo, on the one hand, stood for an improvement of femininity since, thanks to short hair that left the neck uncovered, 'la grazia e la nobiltà del viso femineo [sic] risaltano anche più commoventi come l'arte da una pittura primitiva'.⁵⁴⁶ On the other hand, short hair could help women to show their inner qualities and therefore to help their emancipation:

Il viso della donna, incorniciato all'incirca come quello dell'uomo, farà ancor più palesi i caratteri interni [...]: esprimerà con assai maggior evidenza le qualità essenziali dell'animo e, [...] dello spirito.⁵⁴⁷

In 1925, then, Aleramo did not associate any sign of rebellion with short hair, and she was still linking it in the 1920s to modernity and to the emancipation that women were experiencing in the aftermath of WWI. According to Gundle, moral

⁵⁴⁴ See McCallum, 'The Present Reshaping', pp. 90-92.

⁵⁴⁵ Stephen Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (London; New Haven, CO: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 88.

⁵⁴⁶ Sibilla Aleramo, 'Capelli corti', in her *Andando e stando* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1997), pp. 71-74 (p. 73).

⁵⁴⁷ Aleramo, 'Capelli corti', p. 74.

panic was widespread about the behaviour of women since ‘they cut their hair, drank and smoked cigarettes, disdained convention and wore practical clothes’.⁵⁴⁸ The threat of this type of woman was summarised by the writer and journalist Alberto Notari in the expression ‘third type of woman’ which described a woman who worked, was partially autonomous, travelled alone by tram or car and, not surprisingly, had short hair.⁵⁴⁹ The fashion of short hair arrived in Italy from the USA, where it was born after WWI, and, where, by the 1920s, ‘millions of women of all ages were wearing shorter hair’.⁵⁵⁰

It has to be said that, in contrast with drawings, I did not find Anglo-American photoplay editions with stills depicting Jo’s hair. It seems, therefore, that studios did not seek to emphasise this incident in the story of Jo. However, it is worth paying attention to a comic strip by Giuseppe Novello, published in the 1920s and entitled *Il velo paterno*. One of its captions reads ‘Finora papà non si è accorto che oggi Franceschina si è tagliata i capelli alla maschietta’.⁵⁵¹ This gives an idea of how much parents frowned upon their daughters for cutting their hair. In this respect, it is possible to suppose that the absence of this image in Italian editions might be significant in relation to the general discussion about female beauty during the Ventennio. Particularly, it might be connected with the attempt to not further foster a habit that was more and more widespread, following the fashion of the US stars, among young Italian girls.

5.3 The film of 1933

‘It’s not sentimental or saccharine, but very strong-minded [...] It’s full of that admirable New England sternness, about sacrifice and austerity’. With these words George Cukor described his reading of LW before starting to shoot the film.⁵⁵² Cukor’s film was the first sound version of Alcott’s novel, which would be followed in 1949 by the film directed by Mervyn Le Roy, starring June Allyson in the role of Jo and Rossano Brazzi as Prof. Bhaer, then in 1994 by Gillian Armstrong, with

⁵⁴⁸ Gundle, *Bellissima*, p. 81.

⁵⁴⁹ Gundle, *Bellissima*, p. 101.

⁵⁵⁰ Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair: a Cultural History* (Westport, CO: Greenwood; Oxford: Harcourt Education, 2006), p. 191.

⁵⁵¹ Marta Boneschi, *Senso: i costumi sessuali degli Italiani dal 1880 a oggi* (Milan: Mondadori, 2001), p. 136.

⁵⁵² Gavin Lambert, *On Cukor* (New York: G. P. Putman’s Sons, 1972), p. 75.

Susan Sarandon (Marmee) and Winona Ryder (Jo). Cukor's version, like the subsequent ones, told the story of the March family up to Jo's acceptance of the marriage proposal by Prof. Bhaer, while Alcott's narrative continues until six years after that.

Cukor's version was released in 1933 and produced by RKO. It starred Katharine Hepburn (Jo), Joan Bennett (Amy), Frances Dee (Meg) and Paul Lukas (Prof. Bhaer). RKO aimed to produce a hit at the box office and the role of filmgoers turned out to be fundamental for the realisation of the film. In most of the letters that readers of the book sent to the studio, they asked for a film that presented the women as they were in the book, and fan mail determined also the choice of cast, since Hepburn, Bennett, Dee and Lukas 'were all demanded by large numbers of fans'.⁵⁵³ Responding to the requests of the readers, the film tended to adhere to Alcott's dialogues and to the plot. It also emphasised more than later versions the literary framework of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁵⁵⁴ However, if compared to the book the film was affected by the historical and economic moment that the USA was undergoing. It was shot in 1933, during the Great Depression occasioned by the Wall Street Crash of 1929. Whereas Alcott's novel starts with the sisters waiting for their mother to come home, talking about the upcoming Christmas around the fireplace, the film shows Marmee and the girls in their everyday lives. We see Marmee working at the Christian Commission in Concord to help the Union troops during the Civil War, Meg giving a goodbye kiss to her pupils, Jo working at her aunt's house, Amy at school and Beth at home playing the piano.

After these opening scenes, the discussion about Christmas takes place. In this way, the film stresses from the beginning the hardship the Marches were living through during the war and recalled the situation in which many American families were living in the aftermath of the 1929 crisis. Cukor's aim, however, was also to send a positive message to the audience, highlighting a sense of solidarity between members of the family and emphasizing a happy Christmas in 1933 that 'works as a nostalgic device and offers a respite from the hardship of contemporary life'.⁵⁵⁵ Reflecting on the difficulties of the USA during the 1930s and on the importance of family unity and collaboration as a way to face hard life

⁵⁵³ Kirkham and Warren, 'Four Little Women', p. 83.

⁵⁵⁴ See section 4.1 for the role of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in LW.

⁵⁵⁵ Kirkham and Warren, 'Four Little Women', p. 84.

situations, Cukor's version of LW conveyed 'his tenacious belief that, with unity and family, America could become again what it once was: secure and plentiful'.⁵⁵⁶ As Cartmell and Simons underlined, these opening scenes fulfilled additional aims. They stress 'women's capability and employability' and 'locate[d] the women in a community that sees its young, virile men, disappear'.⁵⁵⁷ In this sense, mostly at the beginning of his film, Cukor stressed women's efforts to overcome social and economic difficulties without the support of men.

The undisputed star of the film was Katharine Hepburn, considered by Cukor as born to play Jo.⁵⁵⁸ According to Marchalonis, 'almost androgynously appealing Hepburn fit the image Alcott's readers had of Jo and her loud acting underlined the unconventionality and quirkiness of the character'.⁵⁵⁹ Hepburn's Jo was naturally but not unwomanly tomboyish,⁵⁶⁰ as the film made the most of Hepburn's attractiveness and presented her as a modern beauty.⁵⁶¹ According to Cartmell and Simons, LW screen adaptations simplified Jo's internal struggle between her desire to become a writer while becoming the wife of Prof. Bhaer and following his advice concerning her career.⁵⁶² As they noted, however, Cukor's version partially gave back a degree of independence to Jo since 'Hepburn's Jo takes command of the relationship and yanks him into her house to meet the family in a reversal of the groom carrying the bride across the threshold'.⁵⁶³

In 1934 the film was released in Italy and presented at the second Biennale del Cinema at Venice where Katharine Hepburn was awarded with the Coppa Volpi as best actress.⁵⁶⁴ In the Italian press,⁵⁶⁵ the film capitalised on Hepburn's persona

⁵⁵⁶ Katherine Kellett, 'Cukor's *Little Women* and the Great Depression: Sacrifice, Morality and Familial Bliss', *The Oswald Review: An International Journal of Undergraduate Research and Criticism in the Discipline of English* 4.1 (2013), 11-29 (p. 25). Available at: <<http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/tor/vol4/iss1/4>> [accessed April 2016].

⁵⁵⁷ Deborah Cartmell and Judy Simons, 'Screening Authorship: *Little Women* on Screen and 1933-1994', in *Nineteenth-century American Fiction on Screen*, ed. by Robert Barton Palmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 77-93 (p. 82).

⁵⁵⁸ Kirkham and Warren, 'Four *Little Women*', p. 86.

⁵⁵⁹ Shirley Marchalonis, 'Filming the Nineteenth Century: *Little Women*', in *Nineteenth-century Women at the Movies: Adapting Classic Women's Fiction to Film*, ed. by Barbara Tapa Lupack (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University, 1999), pp. 257-74 (p. 259).

⁵⁶⁰ McCallum, 'The Present Reshaping', 86.

⁵⁶¹ Kirkham and Warren, 'Four *Little Women*', p. 86.

⁵⁶² See Cartmell and Simons, 'Screening Authorship' and Robyn McCallum, 'The Present Reshaping'.

⁵⁶³ Cartmell and Simons, 'Screening Authorship', p. 88.

⁵⁶⁴ Hepburn was born in 1907 in Hartford (Connecticut) in an upper class and progressive family. Her father was an urologist who campaigned for the awareness and the abolition of the stigma attached to venereal disease and supported the feminist movement, and her mother was a famous

and her name was announced prominently in reviews.⁵⁶⁶ The film was generally praised for its moral message. It was considered sensitive and harmonious,⁵⁶⁷ 'puro, onesto e riconfortante'⁵⁶⁸ without violence and adultery. For this reason, it was judged especially suitable for a female audience, and was 'persino citato e additato dall'Istituto Internazionale di Cinematografia Educativa'.⁵⁶⁹ In the same article in *La Stampa*, written by Mario Gromo, Cukor's film was acknowledged as having some artistic value as well, but mostly because of Katharine Hepburn, whose role was considered as 'uno dei pochi casi in cui l'interprete metta in penombra il regista'.⁵⁷⁰

One criticism levelled at the film was its static nature. It was judged a beautiful piece of 'teatro fotografato', but according to the reviewer Enrico Roma, the only action was in Jo's implicit sentiments and psychology.⁵⁷¹ Critics seemed to blame Alcott's book for the slowness of the film. Cukor's adaptation was acknowledged also by Italian critics as very close the novel and the film was deemed to be full of 'profumo del tempo'⁵⁷² that was said to radiate out 'dalle ingiallite pagine'.⁵⁷³ Film reviews also suggested that Alcott's story had inspired the dreams of readers' mothers and grandmothers, but the idea that LW could be a

suffragette who brought the little Katharine to demonstrations. According to one of her biographers, Katharine had never been a model student; nonetheless, her parents wanted her to obtain her BA and, as her mother had done, she went to Bryn Mawr, an exclusive college in Philadelphia, where she auditioned for the college dramatic society and decided she was going to be an actress. Her first Hollywood film was *Bill of Divorcement* by George Cukor in 1932. See Gary Carey, *Katharine Hepburn: a Biography* (Sevenoaks: New English Library, 1985), pp. 12-16.

⁵⁶⁵ The analysis of film reviews was made on the most popular Italian daily newspapers *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, *Il Messaggero* and on the weekly magazine *Cinema Illustrazione*.

⁵⁶⁶ O., B., 'Il debutto italiano di Katharine Hepburn', *Il Messaggero*, 8 Aug. 1934, p. 3; Mario Gromo, 'Il lieto successo di Piccole donne. Un'interprete di singolare Potenza: Katharine Hepburn', *La Stampa*, 9 Aug. 1934, p. 4; 'Pellicole nuove a Venezia. Piccole Donne con la Hepburn', *Corriere della Sera*, 9 August 1934, p. 8; 'Piccole donne', *Corriere della Sera*, 15 Dec. 1934, p. 3. The author of this last article stated in his first line 'Ma che gran donna è questa Hepburn!'

⁵⁶⁷ 'Piccole donne', *Corriere della Sera*, 1934.

⁵⁶⁸ O., B., 'Il debutto italiano'.

⁵⁶⁹ Gromo, 'Il lieto successo'.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Enrico Roma, 'Piccole donne', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 52 (1934), 10.

⁵⁷² 'Pellicole nuove a Venezia'.

⁵⁷³ Gromo, 'Il lieto successo'. The same article considered LW echoing 'ricordi innocenti, di tremule e sorridenti nonnine'. Alcott's novel is also defined as 'storia di una nidiata di sorelline del buon tempo antico' ('Pellicole nuove a Venezia') and 'la storia che piaceva alle nostre mamme' ('Piccole donne', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 31). Enrico Roma is the harshest critic, judging LW 'una cattiva scelta' ('Piccole donne', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 52)

narrative still valid for Twentieth-century women was not completely shelved.⁵⁷⁴ The remedy for any old-fashioned connotations that the film harboured was, as one might imagine, Katharine Hepburn's Jo, an antidote against the slowness of the action with her 'elettrica persona dai lineamenti molto marcati e geometrici dal gesto tagliente e arditamente stilizzato'.⁵⁷⁵

The reviews underline different aspects of the story, including the lesson of self-sacrifice it conveyed, but they concentrated mostly on its romantic side. The March sisters are shown as giving away their sought-after Christmas meal to the poor Hummels,⁵⁷⁶ so as to underline their spirit of self-sacrifice,⁵⁷⁷ and dealing with 'giochi, lavorucci, confidenze, battibecchi, malattie, e poi a un certo punto, quando gli alberi fioriscono e gli uccelli pispigliano, l'amore'.⁵⁷⁸ There are no traces of the harshness of the war shown at the beginning in Cukor's film, or hints as the sisters' and Marmee's struggle with poverty, since their work was downplayed as 'lavorucci'. They seem to occupy themselves with childish ('giochi') and stereotypically female activities ('confidenze, battibecchi') until spring comes and reminds them of love. This interpretation was confirmed by another review in *Cinema Illustrazione* in 1934. Here the sisters are even described as waiting all week for Sunday to arrive, perhaps 'il giorno del ballo, la festa dove si poteva ancora trovare un principe azzurro per cui si facevano eleganti (...) e belle'.⁵⁷⁹ Their lives are seen in relation to meeting a charming prince who will eventually become their husbands. Continuing this tone, the review regrets that Jo does not marry Laurie her half-Italian best friend, who is 'tanto bello, e aveva una bocca così carina'.⁵⁸⁰ Reducing the meaning of the film to catching a future husband, these

⁵⁷⁴ LW is 'un delizioso romanzo ottocentesco, uno di quei classici da biblioteche rosa, sul quale si formavano una volta i sogni delle fanciulle (e chissà che, malgrado tutto, non si formino ancora)', in 'Pellicole nuove a Venezia'.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Chap. 2 'A Merry Christmas'.

⁵⁷⁷ 'Le ragazze sanno privarsi del pasto per offrirlo a persone più povere di loro'. In O. B., 'Il debutto italiano'.

⁵⁷⁸ 'Piccole donne', *Corriere della Sera*, 1934.

⁵⁷⁹ 'Piccole donne', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 31.

⁵⁸⁰ In the magazine *Cinema Illustrazione* masculinity was represented through photos of the most famous Italian and foreign stars, but also through photographs of well-built men. For instance in *Cinema Illustrazione*, 18 (1934), 13 the review of the film 'Stadio' distributed by Istituto Luce has a still of young men in their dressing room which emphasises their bodies. The same can be said for the cineromanzo based on *The Prizefighter and the Lady*, significantly translated into Italian as *L'idolo delle donne*. Published in instalments from the number 7 in 1934, this cineromanzo recounts the sentimental comedy by W. S. Van Dyke revolving around boxing and starring Max Baer and, in a

reviews hints at the importance of marriage and family at that time. In 1926 the regime had established the so-called 'tassa sul celibato' for bachelors between 25 and 65 years old in order to give 'una frustata demografica alla Nazione'.⁵⁸¹ In order to promote the Italian race and forge its destiny, on 26 May of the following year, Mussolini had launched a demographic campaign during the 'Discorso dell'Ascensione', developing a series of supporting organizations, such as the ONMI ('Ente Nazionale per la Maternità e l'Infanzia'), which provided economic support for large families and promotions for government employees with several children.⁵⁸² However, the demographic campaign was not as successful as hoped, since the childbirth rate diminished instead of doubling during the Ventennio,⁵⁸³ revealing that Fascist guidelines were not followed unquestionably by women. The emphasis of the press on the importance of love and marriage in the lives of the 'little women' could be seen as an attempt to affirm an ideal model of woman.

Criticism at Jo's failure to marry Laurie was not new, since readers of LW had viewed negatively Alcott's decision as early as the first edition of the novel.⁵⁸⁴ Not surprisingly, this point was emphasised in a magazine that was mostly devoted to discussion of sentimental comedies and to give readers information about the private lives of cinema stars. This consideration of Laurie's attractiveness, interpreted on screen by Douglass Montgomery, can be considered in light of the general tone of the magazine that emphasises both the seductive power of masculinity and womanliness. However, the adjective used for Laurie's mouth, 'carina', is not particularly manly. In this sense, while hoping for a marriage between Jo and Laurie, the writer of this review hinted at his feminine side, as did some later literary critics. As the counterpart of tomboy Jo, Laurie is one of the few men in the world of the March sisters and is too young to go to war. Living with his grandfather, he is introduced into an all-female family and 'at any given moment it is difficult to tell whether Jo is a boy, Laurie is a girl, or viceversa'.⁵⁸⁵ This shifting

secondary role, also the Italian boxer Primo Carnera. Photos of this cineromanzo highlighted Baer's strength.

⁵⁸¹ Benito Mussolini, *Discorso dell'Ascensione*, 27 May 1927, available at <http://cronologia.leonardo.it/storia/a1927v.htm> [accessed June 2016]

⁵⁸² Patrizia Guida, *Letteratura femminile del Ventennio fascista* (Lecce: Pensa Editore, 2000), pp. 34-36.

⁵⁸³ Guida, *Letteratura femminile*, p. 34.

⁵⁸⁴ Alcott firmly resisted the pressure of 'the standard marriage plot', but she thought of creating a different kind of marriage for Jo. In Showalter, *Sister's Choice*, p. 53.

⁵⁸⁵ Elbert, *Hunger for Home*, p. 144.

and ambiguous sexuality underlined by Elbert, is reinforced by Abate, who considers Laurie as a sissy helped by the tomboy Jo to become 'an honourable gentleman and good husband'⁵⁸⁶ for Amy.

Due to the idyllic interpretation of the film, the March sisters appeared to live in a world 'ricamato in perline',⁵⁸⁷ and, not surprisingly, Jo stood out even more with her passionate, troubled spirit. Reviewers labelled the sisters through facile stereotypes as 'Meg la dolce, Jo la fantastica, Anny [sic] la civetta e Beth, la fragile',⁵⁸⁸ or through more elaborate descriptions such as the following:

Meg già un po' zitellona; Amy che ha parecchie velleità mondane, come si potevano avere in quei tempi e in un romanzo per giovinette; Beth, dolce e tranquilla, un po' trasognata, innamorata di ogni musica, la romanticona della famiglia, l'avrete già capito, quella che dovette provocare i più languidi sospiri alle giovani lettrici d'allora; e infine Jo, l'indispensabile contrasto, Jo riboccante di giovinezza e d'ardore, che si sente artista, anzi poetessa, ma senza sospiri, piena di letizia e di gioia, sovente addirittura un diavolo scatenato.⁵⁸⁹

Even though *Il Messaggero* tried to label Jo as a 'ragazza americana moderna'⁵⁹⁰ who wanted to have her own experiences and compete with men, but with an undercurrent of naïve sentimentality, it is probable that the innovative, possibly destabilising character of Jo played by Hepburn gained the sympathy of Italian reviewers. She became for them a symbol of positive modernity to be counterpoised with images from the nineteenth century. In the abovementioned article in *Cinema Illustrazione*, 52 the discussion around Cukor's film turned into a defence of modernity against the past. Enrico Roma blamed producers who chose to set films in the nineteenth century, seen as an age of good manners, using as

⁵⁸⁶ Abate, *Tomboys*, p. xvii. A completely different interpretation of Laurie is given by Anne Hollander. According to her, the wedding between Jo and Laurie did not happen because Laurie 'is immutably erotic, and she refuses to learn that lesson' (36). According to Hollander Laurie was a 'youthful and passionate male neighbour, an obvious candidate for the dissolute life' (35). However, Hollander's interpretation is biased by a stereotypically consideration of Italian men: 'Born to riches and to idleness and personally neglected as a child, this youth is clearly destined for depravity, especially since he is half-Italian, and we must know what that means' (34). In Anne Hollander, 'Reflections on *Little Women*', *Children's Literature*, 9 (1981), 28-39.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Piccole donne', *Corriere della Sera*, 1934.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Gromo, 'Il lieto successo'.

⁵⁹⁰ O. B., 'Il debutto'.

justification the audience's love for sentimental characters. In his view, this was the dullest, most ridiculous and boring historical period. On the contrary, the twentieth century was the most sentimental period, whose romanticism inspired by new technologies, however, was not understood:

ci si arresta alle forme e allora si capisce che un cembalo, un lampadario a candele e uno strascico di broccatello facciano sembrare le anime umane diverse da quelle che gioiscono e soffrono dinanzi a una radio o a un motore d'aeroplano.⁵⁹¹

Roma's statement is interesting for two reasons. There is a Futurist echo in his words about the celebration of technology as a source of emotion.⁵⁹² There is also the introduction of a reference to technological innovations in a review of a sentimental film ultimately targeting a female audience. Similar references can be found also in 'romanzi rosa' by Liala. As Pickering Iazzi highlighted, the use of images and metaphors linked to flight had a rich range of connotations in Liala's novels. The aircraft was a symbol of Italy's technological advances, but the writer also 'develops an aesthetic of the machine, gendered through metaphors traditionally associated with femininity'.⁵⁹³ More specifically, the aircraft became an object admired for its beauty, which was often expressed through metaphors of butterflies and birds. The Futurist echo is voiced also in other articles through adjectives linked to Hepburn's persona and to her peculiar beauty. Metaphors linked with electricity and exaggerated emotions were employed. Hepburn was depicted appearing in Venice 'come una valchiria tra i lampi', 'capricciosa, turbinosa, incandescente' and displaying 'nel suo volto angolare, nel suo gesto

⁵⁹¹ Roma, 'Piccole donne'.

⁵⁹² Different forms of technology advances were celebrated from the first 'Manifesto Futurista' published in *Le Figaro* 20 February 1909. The 1909 manifesto exalted the velocity of cars and the image of the man at the steering wheel. In *Uccidiamo il chiaro di luna*, published in 1911, the celebration of velocity is embodied by the following exhortation: 'Al diavolo queste mani vischiose e questi piedi che trascinano radici!... Oh! Noi non siamo che poveri alberi vagabondi! Vogliamo delle ali!... Facciamoci dunque degli aeroplani', available online at <http://www.classicitaliani.it/futurismo/manifesti/Marinetti_uccidiamo_chiaro_luna.htm> [accessed April 2016].

⁵⁹³ Pickering Iazzi, *Politics of the Visible*, p. 115. Pickering Iazzi's analysis of Liala's novel *Signorsì*, published in 1931, shows a fluid border between mass literature and avant-garde futurist works highlighting the use of metaphors concerning aircrafts and flight in romance novels.

tagliente qualcosa di voltaico e di elettrico: come una sensibilità elettrica e sovraeccitata dalla quale la gaiezza esce sempre cruda e l'emozione mordente'.⁵⁹⁴

The acknowledgement of her unusual beauty by the Italian press was problematic. Not only was attention paid to her geometric features,⁵⁹⁵ and her luminous eyes, but also her figure was considered somewhat strange if compared to classical Italian beauty. She was redheaded, with frizzy hair and freckles on an angular face. She was thin, tall and athletic, preferred old clothes and wore dresses only for public appearances, preferring trousers in her private life, while off set Hepburn did not wear makeup.⁵⁹⁶ According to Gundle, la *bella italiana* 'had regular, though not necessarily classically perfect features, long, simply-styled dark hair and expressive eyes'.⁵⁹⁷ Moreover, the ideal beauty promoted by the Fascist regime was that of a shapely woman able to attract men and guarantee healthy offspring for the nation. The regime promoted a campaign against thinness, which was considered a symptom of disease, in order to dissuade young women from following the example of models in magazines, described as 'smidollate giraffe'.⁵⁹⁸ Fashion magazines, such as *Lidel*, started to publish sketches of curvaceous women and images of florid peasant women appeared on the covers of weekly after-work organisation periodicals. However, the attempt to promote healthy, curvaceous women clashed with images of actresses and models in more

⁵⁹⁴ All quotations are taken from 'Piccole donne', *Corriere della Sera*. The Italian press share the metaphor of electricity with the American press. In an article published in 1937, Filippo Sacchi acknowledged that the latest American definition of Hepburn was 'la donna che ha mille lampadine incandescenti negli occhi' (Filippo Sacchi, 'Un film su Amelia Ehart', *Corriere della Sera*, 3 October 1937, p. 3).

⁵⁹⁵ Hepburn's cheekbones became particularly famous. The journalist Marco Ramperti compared the cheekbones of Isa Miranda, acknowledged as a cinematic and an authentic Italian woman, to those of Hepburn or Dietrich, but most directly to those of the women painted by Leonardo Da Vinci. Marco Ramperti, *L'alfabeto delle stelle* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1981), p. 137, quoted in Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream*, p. 52.

⁵⁹⁶ She stated: 'I don't like stockings. I can't keep them up. That's the first thing that started me wearing pants'. In Alvin H. Marill, *Katharine Hepburn* (London: Star Books, 1974), p. 19. See also William J. Mann, *Kate: The Woman who Was Katharine Hepburn* (London: Faber and Faber 2006), p. xviii and Charlie Keil, 'Cary Grant and Katharine Hepburn. Domesticated Mavericks', in *What Dreams Were Made Of: Movie Stars of the 1940s*, ed. by Sean Griffin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), pp. 192-216 (p. 215).

⁵⁹⁷ Gundle, *Bellissima*, p. xvii.

⁵⁹⁸ Mario Pompei, *Critica Fascista*, 1930 quoted in Sofia Gnoli, *Un secolo di moda italiana 1900-2000* (Rome: Meltemi, 2005), p. 55.

significant magazines, showing the difficulty of translating 'the dictates of the regime into pictures that might be found to be attractive by urban dwellers'.⁵⁹⁹

The difference between an ideal Italian beauty and Hepburn is striking when reading this passage reporting Hepburn's arrival at the Paris station. She is described as a

strana ragazza, magra, stecchita, dalle gambe lunghissime, con un naso che guardava da tutte le parti; una bocca sottile, quasi senza labbra; i capelli rossi e quasi scarmigliati le uscivano da un berretto da ciclista, aveva scarpe di feltro; e urlava come una diavola con due facchini.⁶⁰⁰

The lively portrait that the Italian press created was accompanied by appreciations of her interpretation of Jo, due to her 'intelligenza non comune e una sensibilità prodigiosa',⁶⁰¹ which granted her a comparison with Eleonora Duse. However, most of the approval concerned the ways in which Hepburn's persona and Alcott's character overlapped as two strong, independent women.⁶⁰² Hepburn-Jo performed with a 'forza scatenata e quasi selvaggia [...] un temperamento ricchissimo e nativo, un'insofferenza di ogni luogo comune della recitazione, un desiderio di indipendenza a ogni costo'.⁶⁰³ Her acting was judged full of sharp tones, almost rough and masculine. Equally, additional details of her life that could be found in LW reviews highlighted her strong character.⁶⁰⁴ The relationship between Hepburn and Jo was highlighted. She managed to instil in 'un personaggio in scialletto di pizzo e falpalà, questa sensibilità dinamica, questi nervi modernissimi', and to give life, as real flesh and blood, to one 'delle agghindate

⁵⁹⁹ According to Gundle, the magazine *Eva* disguised some models wearing make up as peasant girls. Gundle, *Bellissima*, p. 96.

⁶⁰⁰ Gromo, 'Il lieto successo'. The same article later on characterised her as a siren of Manhattan.

⁶⁰¹ Roma, 'Piccole donne'.

⁶⁰² The writer underlined Hepburn's Americanness similarly to what *Il Messaggero* said of Jo. Hepburn is described as 'irruente e focosa come sa esserlo una giovane americana purissimo sangue'. See Gromo, 'Il lieto successo'.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Gromo recounted the first encounter between George Cukor and Hepburn for the film *The Bill of Divorcement* (1932). The almost, at that time, unknown Hepburn demanded a salary of \$1,500 per week, plus a more important role than Cukor had initially envisioned. To reinforce the opinion that Katharine had 'un caratterino tutt'altro che facile', Gromo added the anecdote according to which major disagreements between her and the director of *The Big Pond* impeded the continuation of their work. See Gromo, 'Il lieto successo'.

figure di questa idilliaca stampa'.⁶⁰⁵ Hepburn embodied the positive values of American dynamism and renovation that fascinated Italy during the Ventennio. Her strength and spirit of independence recalls Pavese's image of an America 'pensosa e barbarica, felice e rissosa, dissoluta, feconda (...) e insieme giovane e innocente'.⁶⁰⁶ Her ability to give life to what was considered static and anchored to the past corresponded to the role that American literature had for the Italian state during the Ventennio, according to Lombardo: 'la barbarie americana è considerata un fatto positivo, come una nuova linfa da immettere nel corpo malato ed esangue della letteratura italiana'.⁶⁰⁷

5.4 The representation of Katharine Hepburn in Italian newspapers and magazines of the time

Female and male stars were models of femininity and masculinity, offering 'an alternative to the conventional roles that were held out, especially for women, by the Church and the regime'.⁶⁰⁸ This was not the case only for Italy, obviously, as studies on the reception of Hollywood stars by British women during the 1940s-50s revealed that the stars they liked the most were those different from them, such as Hepburn. Young girls, who were neither self-confident, nor sophisticated, were especially attracted to such women, and female audiences in general saw those self-assured stars as 'a source of fantasy of a more powerful and confident self'.⁶⁰⁹ Richard Dyer has defined stars 'like characters in stories, representations of people [:] they relate to ideas about what people are (or supposed to be) like. However, unlike characters in stories, stars are also real people'.⁶¹⁰ The fascination stars exert on audiences is due to a series of dichotomies: they are perceived at once as special (beautiful, glamorous, successful), and as ordinary people with everyday problems. Furthermore, seen as normal people, gifted with extraordinary

⁶⁰⁵ 'Piccole donne' *Corriere della Sera*, 1934.

⁶⁰⁶ Pavese, *La letteratura americana*, p. 193 ('Ieri e oggi', pp. 193-96).

⁶⁰⁷ Agostino, Lombardo *L'America e la cultura letteraria italiana* (Bologna: Clueb, 1981), p. 24.

⁶⁰⁸ Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream*, p. 98.

⁶⁰⁹ Jackie Stacey, *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 156-58.

⁶¹⁰ Richard Dyer, *Stars* (London: British Film Institute, 1998), p. 20.

talent, they 'exhibit yet another sense of duality; they are highly desirable, yet ultimately unattainable'.⁶¹¹

The case of the reception of Katharine Hepburn in Italy is particularly relevant. The celebration of her physical and personal characteristics, which distinguished her from other American stars and which were apparently in contrast with the feminine model promoted by the Fascist regime, might be significant in the light of the regime's policies towards modern women. Therefore, it is worth investigating how this controversial character was received in Italy by examining newspapers and magazines reviews of her films released in Italy during the Ventennio.⁶¹² With respect to this, they are fundamental tools for this enquiry, since they strove to make suitable to the Italian audience American cultural models.⁶¹³

All Hepburn's films released in Italy from the 1920s to 1945 were reviewed. In Italy Hepburn's beauty was described as particular and exceptional in the sense that it was differentiated from that of other Hollywood stars. Overall this distinction, however, was not interpreted as a way to alienate the audience, but instead was viewed positively as a way for her to stand out compared to other Hollywood stars.⁶¹⁴ This statement is significant not only because it highlights the value of being different from other stars, but also because Hepburn's upper-class upbringing is considered a blessing and not a stigma, as it was judged in the

⁶¹¹ Dyer, *Stars*, p. 50. Stars' polysemous nature is provided by several media outlets conveying their multiple images (promotion, publicity, films, reviews and commentaries) which in turn create a permanent paradoxical condition. The audience sees stars in three ways: first as themselves, then as 'performing' selves and 'finally as the 'dream' selves in which [they] can fantasise about being the actor'. In Andrew Evans and Glenn D. Wilson, *Fame: the Psychology of Stardom* (London: Vision, 1999), p. 42. According to Dyer the relationship between stars and audiences is regulated according to four different categories: emotional affinity, self-identification, imitation and projection (*Stars*, p. 18).

⁶¹² Only recently film studies started to examine Italian cinema audiences. Among the publications which concern partially the Fascist regime are the following: Mariagrazia Fanchi and Elena Mosconi, *Spettatori: forme di consumo e pubblici del cinema in Italia, 1930-1960* (Venice: Marsilio, 2002), Mariagrazia Fanchi, *L'audience* (Rome: Laterza, 2014) and Daniela Treveri-Gennari, Catherine O'Rawe and Danielle Hipkins, 'In Search of Italian Cinema Audiences in the 1940s and 1950s: Gender, genre and national identity', *Participations, Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*, 8.2 (2011), 539-53. Fanchi published also specifically on the female audience, 'Le italiane "al" cinema: spettatrici', *Quaderni del CSCI*, 11 (2015), 156-61 and 'A ben vedere. Cinema e media in "Primavera. Rivista per giovinette"', *Cinema e scritture femminili. Letterate italiane fra la pagina e lo schermo* (Rome: Iacobelli, 2011), pp. 166-79.

⁶¹³ Raffaele De Berti, *Dallo schermo alla carta. Romanzi, fotoromanzi, rotocalchi cinematografici: il film e i suoi paratesti* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2000), p. 3.

⁶¹⁴ It was considered that she had been saved 'dalla sorte comune e dalla cifra della "stella" standardizzata forse in virtù di quei suoi inizi nel più spirituale collegio degli Stati Uniti'. Salg., 'Vita di una attrice dello schermo quand'era studentessa', *La Stampa*, 12 August 1935, p. 3.

USA.⁶¹⁵ An explicit association between sophistication and excessive distance from the audience is only fleetingly made in an article that did not focus on Hepburn. According to the author of the article, overall the strength of an actress was 'non essere un tipo strano, di non avere un carattere sophisticated [sic] come ad esempio Katharine Hepburn'⁶¹⁶ but to be a common type, to be easily imitated. However, Italian reviewers did not seem concerned with the difficulty of imitating Katharine Hepburn. On the contrary, the emphasis on Hepburn's distinctive beauty worked as a marketing tool, while some of her behaviour was reframed in a suitable way for an Italian audience.

Most of the articles about her did not focus on her appearance but on her acting. The unanimous praise expressed by film critics towards Hepburn in her performance in *Little Women* can be extended also to other films in which she played. She was praised for being human, able to convey a wide array of emotions and to play different genres.⁶¹⁷ In a review of *Susanna*, even Hepburn's limping for part of the film due to a broken heel was evaluated as enjoyable by the reviewer who asserts that Hepburn confirmed 'd'essere brava sempre e in tutto, anche nelle buffonate'.⁶¹⁸ She was described as 'donna dai mille volti',⁶¹⁹ capable of passing

⁶¹⁵ The reaction of the American press to Ginger Rogers beating Hepburn to an Oscar in 1941 is enlightening. The magazine *Cue* referred to Roger's victory as 'the revenge of the little people of Hollywood' (Carey, *Katharine*, p. 113). The sentence alluded to Roger's background which was rooted in the cinema since her mother was a scriptwriter and producer, but also to the type of characters Rogers was used to play, mostly working-class women. In her Oscar-winning film, *Kitty Foyle*, she played the part of a saleswoman of a boutique in New York.

⁶¹⁶ 'Visita a Dehnam la Hollywood d'Inghilterra', *La Stampa*, 25 March 1938, p. 3. The adjective 'sophisticated' is not printed in italics differently the rest of the article.

⁶¹⁷ The reviews report the following expressions to describe these qualities. According to Gromo, Hepburn has 'una volontà protesa fino allo spasimo per questa nuovissima prova, che sovente traspare da asprezze di stile, ma che sa poi sempre giungere all'emozione' in Gromo, 'Sullo schermo del lido', *La Stampa*, 24 August 1936, p. 3. Hepburn's 'sensibilità inimitabile' leads the audience through 'una gamma vastissima di emozioni' in 'Amore zingaro', *Corriere della Sera*, 9 January 1937, p. 3. Hepburn has a 'modo saettante e magnetico di passare di colpo da un estremo all'altro delle emozioni rimanendo sempre umana e vera. (...) Attraverso lei il vecchio dramma finisce per ritrovare una elasticità a una vita', in 'Febbre di vivere', *Corriere della Sera*, 7 June 1935, p. 3. Hepburn 'ravviva ogni istante' of *Dolce inganno* in Gromo, 'Sullo schermo: Il dolce inganno di G. Stevens', *La Stampa* 28 December 1937, p. 4. Katharine Hepburn is the 'essenza del film'. She had brought in the first part of the film 'tutta la finzione di quel cuore assetato di amore e di gioia (...) si solleva improvvisamente a un dolore chiaroveggente e senza veli espresso con un seguito stupendo di primi piani ineffabili' in Sacchi, 'Il primo amore', *Corriere della Sera*, 13 December 1936, p. 3. A cinema advertisement exhorted the readers to see *Primo amore* and the 'nuova originalissima interpretazione piena di freschezza e di umanità' by the *enchanted* Hepburn, 'Primo amore (Alice Adams)', *La Stampa*, 15 December 1936, p. 3.

⁶¹⁸ 'Susanna', *Corriere della Sera*, 28 August 1938.

⁶¹⁹ 'Quando si ama', *La Stampa*, 18 February 1936.

from one emotion to the opposite 'rimanendo sempre umana e vera'.⁶²⁰ Hepburn was the flame that managed to revive even mediocre films almost effortlessly,⁶²¹ becoming the only reason to see the film.⁶²²

Overall, Italian reviews do not dwell on Hepburn's contradictory and capricious personality, which had instead great relevance in the American press. According to Mann, Hepburn 'was independent, generous, frank, loyal, committed to excellence. She could also be terribly narcissistic and obsessed with fame'.⁶²³ Anecdotes reported by Carey tell of a stubborn and presumptuous, but also a polite woman, respectful to studio technicians, directors and producers, while intolerant towards Hollywood hierarchy.⁶²⁴ She was outspoken about politics and during her first years in Hollywood provoked rumours of alleged homosexuality.⁶²⁵ She hated interviews, usually refused them, or used to fool the journalists by giving false information about her life.⁶²⁶ She did not put herself on the same level of her public and did not give them access to her life.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁰ 'Febbre di vivere'.

⁶²¹ 'Tutte le volte che ella fu in scena, *come portato da un colpo d'ala invisibile*, il dramma si risollevò subito alle altezze dell'emozione pura'. Sacchi, 'Maria di Scozia', *Corriere della Sera*, 24 August 1936, p. 3.

⁶²² 'L'unica ragione per vedere il Diavolo è femmina è quella di vedere Katharine Hepburn vestita da ragazzino. Altre non ce ne trovo.' Sacchi, 'Frou Frou il diavolo è femmina', *Corriere della Sera*, 18 December 1938, p. 2.

⁶²³ Mann, *Kate*, p. xxvii.

⁶²⁴ The two following anecdotes testify Hepburn's presumptuousness and stubbornness. When Cukor showed Hepburn costumes for *Bill of Divorcement* she said she would prefer clothes designed by Chanel. Since the Hollywood élite did not approve Hepburn's clothes, RKO asked her to throw her trousers in the bin. She refused to do so and the studio stole them. In response to this action, Hepburn walked through the lot wearing only her underpants. See Carey, *Katharine Hepburn*, pp. 38, 48.

⁶²⁵ In May 1947 she made a public speech at an anti-censorship rally denigrating the actions of the House Un-American Activities Committee that investigated private citizens (including people from Hollywood) and organizations suspected to be linked with the Communist Party. Rumours on her homosexuality started because Hepburn drove a truck and shared a house with her friend Laura Harding during her first period at Hollywood. See Keil, 'Cary Grant and Katharine Hepburn', p. 215.

⁶²⁶ At the beginning of her career, since her refusal to grant interviews, publicists made up that she was the heiress of a millionaire. In another occasion she said to the journalists she had three children, only two of whom were white. See Carey, *Katharine Hepburn*, pp. 44-46 and Marill, *Katharine Hepburn*, p. 20. On the pivotal role of the interview in the construction of the star persona see Dyer, *Stars*, p. 30.

⁶²⁷ Hepburn's complex persona is reflected in a turbulent career whose extraordinary start earned her an Academy Award for her third film, *Morning Glory* in 1933, followed by the Coppa Volpi for *Little Women*. Between 1934 and 1938, however, she played in a series of less popular films except for *Alice Adams*, which earned her a second nomination for an Academy Award (*Little Minster* and *Spitfire* in 1934, *Sylvia Scarlett* in 1935 for which she received unenthusiastic reviews perhaps also for her sexual ambiguity as she was disguised as a boy, *A Woman Rebels* and *Mary of Scotland* in 1936, *Quality Street* in 1937. After interpreting *Bringing Up Baby* in 1938 she was labelled 'box-office poison'.

Only in one occasion there is a hint to Hepburn's whimsical nature, which revealed in the review of *Incantesimo (Holiday)*: 'Katharine Hepburn, non occorre dirlo, è la pecorella nera, e a casa sua nella pelle di questo personaggio capriccioso e moderno ridà (...) una di quelle sue interpretazioni piene di nervosa vitalità e delicatezza'.⁶²⁸ Underlining that Hepburn played a part that suited her persona well, Sacchi implied her unpredictability and her tendency to break the mould, but without the harshness found in American reviews. The same metaphor of the black sheep was used in the American context to question Hepburn's right to literally escape every enclosure: 'Why should red-headed Katie be allowed to be the sole black sheep of the flock without being baa-barred?'⁶²⁹ Her idiosyncrasy, which in the USA was linked with her upper-class upbringing, refusal to give interviews and impossibility to be confined in existing categories, in Italy seems instead to have been positively associated with modernity and dynamism.⁶³⁰

In addition to film reviews, there are two long articles, 'Adolescenza della suffragetta Caterina',⁶³¹ and 'Vita di una attrice dello schermo quand'era studentessa',⁶³² fictionalised accounts of her life which show how the Italian press dealt with Hepburn's persona.⁶³³ The first article, published in *Cinema Illustrazione*, underlined the importance of feminism in her upbringing and focused on Hepburn's education. Her mother is described as a passionate suffragette who took her on demonstrations, but was also as a supporter of 'l'ideale ginnastico'.⁶³⁴ Her family is somewhat removed from the context of progressive New England and is described instead as 'benpensante'.⁶³⁵ Hepburn

⁶²⁸ Sacchi, 'Incantesimo', *Corriere della Sera*, 24 November 1938, p. 2.

⁶²⁹ *Picturegoer*, 20 November 1937 quoted in Janet Thumim, 'Miss Hepburn is Humanized: The Star Persona of Katharine Hepburn', *Feminist Review*, 24 (1986), 71-102 (p. 89).

⁶³⁰ There were only two reviews about the declining success of Hepburn's films that led to the label of 'box-office poison'. For both she was not responsible for those failures, which had to be ascribed to 'un'imperfetta comprensione delle sue possibilità e dei suoi mezzi' (Sacchi, 'Notizie e aneddoti di donne', *Corriere della Sera*, 9 May 1937, p. 3). The review of *Dolce Inganno* criticised the film as too weak for such an expressive woman. Hepburn's interpretation was strong, but again she had not found a script that suited her ('Dolce inganno', *Corriere della Sera*, 1 January 1938, p. 2).

⁶³¹ A. F., 'Adolescenza della suffragetta Caterina', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 45 (1934), 13.

⁶³² Salg., 'Vita di una attrice dello schermo quand'era studentessa', *La Stampa*, 12 August 1935, p. 3.

⁶³³ Usually, biographies of the stars in the Italian press were based on news reports released by American studios press offices but then freely reworked. It was even possible to read interviews with stars that had never happened. During the first months of 1933, Cesare Zavattini, chief editor of *Cinema Illustrazione*, had been writing articles under pseudonyms and pretending to be a news correspondent from Hollywood, while he was in Milan. See De Berti, *Dallo schermo*, p. 46.

⁶³⁴ A.F., 'Adolescenza della suffragetta Caterina', 13.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*

father's campaign for awareness of venereal diseases is omitted, while he is depicted as a zealous educator who raised his children according to strict hygienic rules and Protestant ethics. Hepburn is described as very independent, but never overstepping the freedom her parents granted her. Hepburn's sporty side, her belligerent attitude and stubbornness about becoming an actress are all approved. The article depicts a young Katharine who did not consider herself beautiful and who was not considered as such. Her athletic education is praised, since fitness played an important role in Fascist education for men and women. It was a symbol of health and prosperity of the nation and particular sports, such as rhythmic gymnastics were favourites because they could create supple, graceful women.⁶³⁶ On the other hand, Hepburn's desire of independence had to be curbed because it was too distant from the hegemonic discourse. Emancipation of women was considered devastating for modern societies and there was the hope that women would return subject to men in an ideal society.⁶³⁷

The second article published in *La Stampa* focuses on the period at Bryn Mawr.⁶³⁸ Hepburn is described as keen on entering Bryn Mawr, whilst Hepburn's biographers underlined that it was a desire of her parents, and particularly of her mother. The exclusivity of her education is reflected in her appearance and behaviour. Despite wearing sporting clothes, she is described as elegant but 'con negligenza e senza ricercatezza' and dressed 'con distinzione'.⁶³⁹ Original and self-confident, she is again not depicted as beautiful, but as effortlessly fascinating and surrounded by a crowd of admirers. Hepburn's individuality is depicted via actual episodes of her life, for instance in her not being a model student ('studentessa a modo suo') and having her meals outside college. This is reported in the biographies, though interpreted in a different way. According to Carey, Hepburn entered the dining hall of Bryn Mawr for the first time wearing a blue skirt and a white-blue sweater, sure she would not be unnoticed and posed dramatically on the threshold. One of the senior students exclaimed 'Ah! Conscious beauty!', some

⁶³⁶ Jacquelin Reich, 'Reading, Writing and Rebellion: Collectivity, Specularity, and Sexuality in the Italian Schoolgirl Comedy 1934-43', in *Mothers of Invention*, pp. 220-251 (p. 242).

⁶³⁷ See Re, *Fascist Theories*, p. 88 quoting passages from Ferdinando Loffredo, *Politica della famiglia* (Milan: Bompiani, 1938).

⁶³⁸ The name of the college is misspelled in Bryn Maur. In the previous article in *Cinema Illustrazione* is Bryn Mews.

⁶³⁹ A comparative Bourdieusian reading of Hepburn's reviews in Italy and in the USA might reveal interesting differences around the binomy stars/distinction.

laughter followed, Katharine ran to her room and for the following seven months she bought her meals in a tearoom close to the college.⁶⁴⁰ This story casts a new light on Hepburn's personality that suggests shyness concealed behind her exhibitionism, but the image conveyed by Italian newspapers does not reveal any weak points.⁶⁴¹

Another article published in *Cinema Illustrazione* described nine stars' love lives, including Hepburn.⁶⁴² She is portrayed instead as passionate but not coquettish, idealistic, with a 'fibra robustissima di puritana' and never willing to settle for a compromise. She is depicted as a woman who could feel deep emotions and who abandons herself completely for her man in a devoted and almost religious way. Hepburn's extreme personality seems to have been reframed in Italy under the label of the passionate and faithful woman. However, the reaction against her stance on marriage was different.⁶⁴³ According to this article, she had maintained her reluctance to marry because she considered cinema as a prison or a convent, and, in 1934, an article appeared about such statement. The author of the article quotes several fans writing to ask which crimes had to be committed to end up in her prison or which spiritual exams could allow them to enter the same convent. The article cast doubt on Hepburn's behaviour and compared the actors William Powell and Ronald Colman to a prison warder and to spiritual father of the convent, implying they were possibly Hepburn's loves.⁶⁴⁴ While exalted as a passionate lover, Hepburn's nonconformist point of view was toned down and not surprisingly since it openly opposed the hegemonic discourse according to which

⁶⁴⁰ Carey, *Katharine Hepburn*, p. 14.

⁶⁴¹ Carey's belief, based on the opinion of a friend of Hepburn's family, is that Hepburn's youthful exhibitionism was possibly a defense mechanism and a way to mask her inadequacy in dealing with her peers (pp. 11, 15).

⁶⁴² Manolo Cattaneo, 'La maniera d'amare di 9 astri dello schermo', *Cinema Illustrazione*, 28 (1934), 7. The other stars are Joan Crawford, Clark Gable, Gary Cooper, Janet Gaynor, Leslie Howard, Maurice Chevalier, Helen Hayes and Kay Francis.

⁶⁴³ Among Hepburn's statements on marriage, the following is quoted in Larry Carr, *More Fabulous Faces. The Evolution and Metamorphosis of Dolores Del Rio, Myrna Loy, Carole Lombard, Bette Davis, and Katharine Hepburn* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979): 'I don't believe in marriage because it's not a natural institution! Otherwise, why sign a contract for it?'. Actually Hepburn was married to Ludlow Ogden Smith from 1928 to 1934, but the two broke up only three weeks after the wedding. See Maryann Pasda DiEdwardo, *The Life of Katharine Hepburn: Fine Art as a Way of Life* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2009) pp. 8-9. The twenty-year relationship between Hepburn and Spencer Tracy was never confirmed because Hepburn's proverbial privacy and because Tracy was married with a child.

⁶⁴⁴ 'Katharine Hepburn ultimo modello', *La Stampa*, 10 Nov. 1934, p. 3.

women became individuals only when they belonged to a man: 'la donna è del marito, ed è quello che è in quanto è di lui'.⁶⁴⁵

Photos accompanying film reviews or articles about her attempted to contain or to reinforce problematic aspects of Hepburn persona. In her real life Hepburn was childless. A photo published in a review of *Mary of Scotland*, portrayed her with a child in her arms and the caption underlined this unusual role: 'Katharine Hepburn mamma nel film *Maria di Scozia*'.⁶⁴⁶ The choice of this photo seems to be driven by family policies, as we have already noted, in effect at that time, and even more so if paired with the mocking of Hepburn's reluctance to marriage. Likewise, a photo of Hepburn and Grant in the film *Bringing Up Baby!*, in which Hepburn had the leading role, depicts Grant in a dominant position over Hepburn suggesting a hierarchy of roles which was subverted for the film. These attempts to tame Hepburn persona were, however, counterbalanced by photos and captions that reinforced the dominant interpretation of her. A photo of Hepburn talking to Philip Moeller, director of *Broken Hearts* (1935), shows the caption 'Philip Moeller, direttore di *Cuori infranti* in animato colloquio con Katherine [sic] Hepburn'.⁶⁴⁷ The idea that the conversation between the two was animated is not evidenced by the actual photo, but reinforces the idea of a determined and strong willed woman. Similarly, a caption to a photo still from *Stage Door* (1937) featuring Ginger Rogers and Hepburn states that 'il cervello di Katharine Hepburn e le gambe di Ginger Rogers si alleano insieme nel nuovo film di Gregory La Cava'.⁶⁴⁸ The sentence highlights the fact that Hepburn was not particularly praised for her beauty, but for her other qualities.

The examination of Italian illustrated editions of LW, the reception of its film version and that of Katharine Hepburn in Fascist Italy, exposes tensions in the representation of women. Editions tend to offer a more conservative ideal of women as might be seen in the illustration of Amy as a pious girl in the 1926 Bemporad edition and in the omission of the image of Jo with her short hair. The release of Cukor's film in 1934 triggered a 'modernisation' in subsequent editions

⁶⁴⁵ Gentile, *La donna nella coscienza moderna*, 1934 quoted in Lucia Re 'Fascist Theories on "Woman"', in *Mothers of Invention*, pp. 76-99 (p. 85).

⁶⁴⁶ *Corriere della Sera*, 16 March 1937.

⁶⁴⁷ *La Stampa*, 30 July 1936. The choice of the word 'direttore' for the English 'director' might suggest that this caption is an Italian translation from an English one.

⁶⁴⁸ *Corriere della Sera*, 3 October 1937.

that foregrounded a nonconformist Jo, played by Hepburn. The circulation of Italian photoplays and cinema magazines where Hepburn was prominently represented increased her appearance in illustrated editions published after the release of the film. In the years of the diffusion of cinema in Italy, 'modern' photo stills entered the publishing world of LW alongside the 'old' drawings.

A key role was played in this process by Katharine Hepburn. Her reception during the Ventennio reveals the relevance of the Italian press in the construction of a persona acceptable to Italian readers and as a site of creation of a more emancipated feminine readership. This did not depend strictly on the approval of the Fascist regime, but encompassed 'un patrimonio di convinzioni largamente condivise'⁶⁴⁹ and showed 'l'entità dello scarto tra il vecchio e il nuovo mondo, tra il desiderio di emancipazione e il radicamento in una tradizione valoriale, culturale ed estetica che accetta con diffidenza di abbandonare il passato'.⁶⁵⁰ It is worth noting that, although magazines were negatively regarded by the regime, at least until 1938 when control of foreign material entering Italy became stricter, censorship of magazines was rather loose due to the high number published and their popularity with readers.⁶⁵¹ In addition to this, for instance, *Corriere della Sera*'s Filippo Sacchi, author of several articles on Hepburn, was a strenuous anti-fascist and, so was removed from his position between 1926-29 before coming back in that same year as cinema reviewer.

Hepburn was praised for her distinctiveness, for her acting qualities and passionate character. While her appearance was incompatible with the canon and evoked mixed reactions, her nervous approach to acting, stubbornness and belligerence were viewed as a symbol of modernity. However, some details of her life and her persona needed to be adjusted to the Italian context. Her strong-willed character had to be somewhat curbed and presented as a passionate attitude so as not to threaten existent models of femininity. Leaving out her parents' progressive position, emphasising her independence without it seeming excessive, toning down her statements against marriage, along with some unusual photographic

⁶⁴⁹ De Berti, *Il volo del cinema. Miti moderni nell'Italia fascista* (Milan: Mimesis, 2012), p. 25.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ See Irene Piazzoni, 'I periodici italiani negli anni del regime fascista' in *Forme e modelli del rotocalco italiano tra fascismo e guerra*, ed. by Raffaele De Berti e Irene Piazzoni (Milan: Cisalpino, 2008), pp. 83-122.

choices, all these strategies were deployed, and show how her complex persona was made suitable for an Italian audience.

CHAPTER 6

CONTEXTUALISING EDITIONS AND TRANSLATION ANALYSIS

6.1 Editions and retranslations

Situating translations in the publishing market enables us to appreciate better some of the motivating forces in the process of retranslation. Forewords, in particular, can help in tracing the retranslation history of books, especially when written by the translators themselves, since they may often comment, directly or indirectly, on the retranslation history, and also provide the readers with the norms of translation followed. The six translations of LW published before 1945 have been taken as a sample here, namely, the editions Carabba 1908, Bemporad 1926, Aurora 1934, Bietti 1935, Corticelli 1941 and Fiorini 1945. Of these six translations of LW, only three are acknowledged by a translator and only two of these have an introduction. The first introduction can surely be attributed to the translators, that is, Ciro Trabalza, and his wife Michelina who had already published *Piccoli uomini* in 1905 for Carabba, and in 1908 produced the first Italian translation of both volumes of LW, published by the same firm.⁶⁵²

The reason set out by the translators for this first Italian translation of LW was due to the success of Alcott's previous volume. The translators maintained that they endeavoured to keep the translation as close as possible to the original, but at the same time they had avoided making a copy of Alcott's original work. This method, which they called 'massima approssimazione', exposed them to criticism. They opted for a literal translation of the text irrespective of how this might affect sentence structure, thereby challenging the Italian prejudice 'che ci sia una forma bella, elegante, correttamente italiana per sè stessa e sempre alla portata di mano del traduttore esperto'.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵² See section 4.3. for more details on this preface and for essential biographical data on Ciro and Michelina Trabalza.

⁶⁵³ Trabalza, 'Prefazione', p. vii.

The Trabalzas' translation appears to oscillate between an intention to explain foreign elements of LW to young Italian readers, to engage their attention, and a concern to keep the original foreign setting and historical period to ensure curiosity. They did not find it necessary to use footnotes, but opted instead for the addition of a word of explanation when needed in the list of notes at the beginning. The list of notes, of course, is not exhaustive, but leaves obscure points in the text, which also serve the translators' educational purpose. Being forced to find explanations for passages, young readers would understand that reading is also a process of learning and autonomous development:

Se poi qualche volta, il piccolo lettore sarà pur costretto a chiedere spiegazioni a maestri e a libri, tanto meglio; avrà bene da persuadersi che leggere non deve voler dir solo divertirsi, e che a comprendere occorrono studio e ricerca, e che un bel giorno, dovrà far da sé quel che ora aiutano a fare la scuola e i maestri.⁶⁵⁴

As seen in section 4.3, the only other foreword of the corpus is the opening of Fiorini's edition, and it is not as detailed about the reasons for retranslation and translation norms as Carabba's. It is not clear who is its author and it does not provide any information about the process of translation.⁶⁵⁵ It focuses instead upon the reasons of the success of LW, considered as a crossover novel, which will be read by the children and which will continue to appeal the adults.

These two different types of introduction, significantly the first and the last of the corpus, combined with the examination of the publishing field, textual and paratextual elements, are suggestive of the kinds of translations displayed in these two editions. Carabba was one of the main publishing centres in Italy during the first two decades of the twentieth century. It published a wide range of books, from philosophy to Italian narrative and poetry (Moravia, Montale, Cardarelli) alongside foreign literature targeted at educated people, but not necessarily specialists, as well as textbooks. The firm went bankrupt in 1950, but its decline started in the 1930s. When the Italian publishing industry started taking advantage of major technological improvements and the Fascist regime began to exert its power through censorship, Carabba was not able to keep pace with the changing reality.

⁶⁵⁴ Trabalza, 'Prefazione', p. xiv.

⁶⁵⁵ See section 4.3 for more details on the Fiorini introduction.

The firm did not sympathise with the regime that started to block publication of Carabba's school textbooks. Moreover, the firm was based in Chieti, in the Abruzzo region, and that peripheral position led to growing isolation.⁶⁵⁶ The firm entrusted the linguist Ciro Trabalza and his wife Michelina with the first Italian translation of the novel, relying on the success of their previous translation, combining economic success and cultural prestige. Their version is an integral translation with a clear educational aim and result of a reflection on the translation process described in their foreword. On the contrary, Fiorini was a small publishing house in Turin that issued a shortened illustrated edition that reduces the story to a series of events, flattening any psychological analysis of characters. It is worth looking at the famous episode of Amy almost drowning while skating. Alcott's text dwell on the description of Jo's contrasting sentiments

Jo heard, but Amy was just struggling to her feet, and did not catch a word. Jo glanced over her shoulder, and the little demon she was harbouring said in her ear, - 'No matter whether she heard or not, let her take care of herself' [...] For a minute Jo stood still, with a strange feeling at her heart (p. 76)⁶⁵⁷

The Fiorini version reduces all this passage to 'Jo lo udì ma Amy no. Poteva avvertirla; ma per vendicarsi non lo fece' (pp. 55-56). This version does rely heavily on the Aurora translation of 1934, appearing as a shortened version it. It marketed the Aurora translation, which addressed a mature audience, for younger readers. Furthermore, Fiorini also contains some inaccuracies,⁶⁵⁸ although, the

⁶⁵⁶ See Luigi Ponziani, 'La Carabba: una casa editrice tra scuola e cultura', in *Stampa e piccola editoria tra le due guerre*, ed. by Ada Gigli Marchetti and Luisa Finocchi (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1997), pp. 292-307 and Lia Giancristofaro, 'Rocco Carabba (1854-1924). Le edizioni scolastiche e per giovanetti', *La fabbrica del libro*, XV.1 (2009), 16-22.

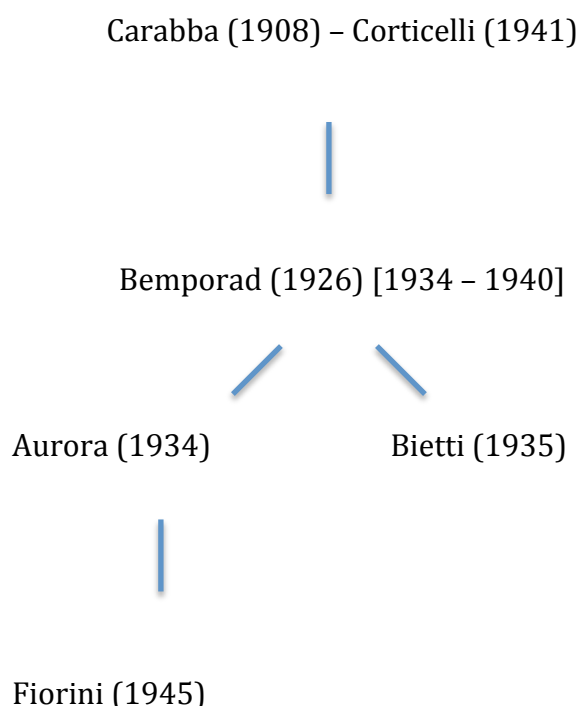
⁶⁵⁷ All the passages of LW in this chapter are taken from Alcott, *Little Women* (New York; Oxford, 2008).

⁶⁵⁸ I mention just some inaccuracies encountered in the chapters analysed. In chap. 8 'Jo meets Apollyon', when Jo realizes that Amy has some problems skating, Fiorini's translation states: 'Poteva avvertirla; ma per vendicarsi non lo fece e seguì Jo' (p. 55). Clearly Jo was following Laurie and not herself. At chap. 14, 'Secrets', Jo brings her texts to a publisher hoping that it will accept them. When she leaves the publisher's office, Jo meets Laurie who thought she was going to the dentist, instead. According to Fiorini's edition Jo is really going to the dentist: 'Poco dopo uscì e per tre volte ripeté questa manovra, poi decisa suonò il campanello. I denti le dolevano e uno, quello malatissimo, la tormentava senza pietà' (p. 76). In this same chapter Jo, Laurie and Meg are talking about the wedding of Belle Moffat, a rich friend of Meg. Laurie had just told Jo that his tutor John Brooke is in love with Meg. Jo reacts harshly because she feels that the unity of her family is

inclusion of a new preface and illustrations, which seem to have been created for this specific edition, partially differentiates the Fiorini edition from the very cheap editions.

The Florentine Bemporad published the second Italian translation of LW, and the first to be illustrated, in its series ‘Collezione dei capolavori stranieri per la gioventù’.⁶⁵⁹ It was followed by Aurora in 1934 and Bietti in 1935, both publishers based in Milan. All these translations are shortened. While Bemporad omits some sentences from the original text, in Aurora and Bietti there are entire parts of chapters omitted. For instance, chap. 4 lacks the last part in Aurora and Bietti where Jo explains what happened during the afternoon at her aunt’s house.

Following the scheme made in chap. 3 that displayed translations included in the corpus of UTC from the most complete to the most far from the original text, the situation for the LW corpus can be represented as follows:



threatened. At this point in the dialogue Jo asks Meg if she envies Belle and, at her positive reply, she says ‘I’m glad of it. (...) if you care much about riches, you will never go and marry a poor man’, alluding at John Brooke. In Fiorini, the sentence is turned into ‘Sono contenta (...) Perché se Meg si sposerà sarà contenta’ (p. 78), showing Jo empathising with her sister’s desire.

⁶⁵⁹ Details on the publisher Bemporad and its publications are in section 1.4.1.

These retranslations of LW seem therefore to follow what might be termed an ebb-and-flow route, rather than a linear progression. Started with the complete translation by Carabba, LW appeared in three translations omitting parts of the original text. Only in 1941 was the second integral translation published, followed by the Fiorini shortened translation based on the previous Aurora version.

An examination of the publishing field might offer possible explanations to this process. Aurora published a 'libera traduzione' by Maria Parisi. It was a small firm which specialised in detective fiction aimed at a popular audience. Its editions used poor materials (i.e. paper and covers) in order to limit expense and offer a low-priced product that was competitive and could ensure a high profit margin.⁶⁶⁰ The firm could count on several translators and writers able to work in very limited time period.⁶⁶¹ It also aimed to attract an audience following literary trends and taking advantage of the popularity of cinema, by using stills in editions of books that were taken from film version. It is easy to see the Aurora cover of LW, displaying a still of Katharine Hepburn, as an attempt to engage the audience of the film version of Alcott's book released in Italy that same year. The following year Bietti published Enrica Castellani's translation of LW. The Aurora and Bietti editions are similar in that they both use poor-quality materials and a film still for the cover. LW was part of Bietti's series 'Cinema Biblioteca', which included books turned into films, a sign that this publisher was also very attentive to the cinematographic medium so as to appeal to audiences. The Bietti translation was not anonymous but was done by Enrica Castellani, who specialised in translations from Anglo-American and French literature for a young audience.⁶⁶²

⁶⁶⁰ On Aurora, see Patrizia Caccia, 'La Milano "gialla" degli anni Trenta', in *Editori e lettori: la produzione libraria in Italia nella prima metà del Novecento*, ed. by Ada Gigli Marchetti, Luisa Finocchi and Patrizia Landi (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2000), pp. 167-82.

⁶⁶¹ Maria Parisi was allegedly one of those authors. Whilst I could not find information about her life, from library catalogues it is possible to trace at least partially her activities. The picture that emerges is that of a translator working at the same time for the most prolific Milanese publishers of the time, Aurora, Bietti and Barion. In 1934 she adapted *Gulliver's Travels* for Aurora. She had already worked for Barion, translating *Burning Daylight* by London in 1930 and for Bietti for which translated in 1933 *The Moon and Sixpence* by Somerset Maugham.

⁶⁶² Enrica translated mostly literature for the young. She shared the profession of translator with her younger and more famous sister Maria Luisa Castellani (1913-2005) and her elder brother Emilio. He translated mainly from German for the most important Italian publishers, while Maria Luisa, who collaborated with Mondadori, SAS, Rizzoli and Einaudi, translated mainly from English. See Paola Agosti, 'La voce italiana di Jane Austen', *Tradurre*, 1 (2011) available at

The influence of the Carabba translation is mostly visible in the edition published in 1941 by Corticelli in Milan. Like Carabba, Corticelli was an important firm, especially in the period 1928–35, combining cultural prestige with a significant market share. By the end of the 1920s, Corticelli had published translations of works by Conrad, Dickens, Stevenson and in 1931 also 21 volumes by Rudyard Kipling. Several of these works were out of print. Literary journals and intellectuals praised the publisher for its serious translations.⁶⁶³ Between 1940 and 1944 Corticelli experienced a period of crisis due to Fascist censorship and the war. It did not launch new projects, but just continued with series and activities already started. Among these, the most successful and long-running series by Corticelli was the ‘Strenne’ that lasted until the 1950s. This was a collection of texts published at the end of the year and intended as Christmas gifts. The series included new publications as well as re-editions, all illustrated and finely bound, aimed at a young audience. In 1941 an integral translation of LW was published in this collection translated by Tito Diambra, and sold at a high price of L. 40.⁶⁶⁴ Diambra’s translation was favourably welcomed as ‘piacevolissima e sempre misurata’. It was praised because of the use of up-to-date Italian expressions to underline the ironic moments in the dialogues.⁶⁶⁵ The Corticelli translation, by contrast, seems to have harked back to a similar translation of LW on the market, namely the Carabba.

An examination of the translations’ table of contents confirms the main findings presented so far. The Carabba and Corticelli retained all 23 original chapters and provide their titles with very similar translations. Furthermore, they are the only two editions that do not delete chap. 10 ‘The C. P. and P. O.’, a chapter that narrates one of the meetings of the secret society formed by the March sisters in imitation of Dickens’ ‘Pickwick’ Club during which the sisters read *The Pickwick Portfolio* to which all of them contributed. In all the other editions the number of the chapters is reduced: Bemporad has 18 chapters, Fiorini 17, Aurora 16 and Bietti 13. The translation of some titles is also revealing of translational behaviour

<<http://rivistatradurre.it/2011/11/un-ricordo-di-nini-castellani-agosti/>> [accessed November 2016] and Paolo Borgna, *Il coraggio dei giorni grigi: vita di Giorgio Agosti* (Bari: Laterza, 2015).

⁶⁶³ It is worth remembering that the translation of *The Jungle Book* was considered the best on the market by Antonio Gramsci. See Carlo Carotti, ‘La casa editrice Corticelli e la collaborazione di Rodolfo Morandi’, in *Stampa e piccole editoria*, pp. 126–54 (p. 131).

⁶⁶⁴ See section 5.2 on price of LW Italian editions.

⁶⁶⁵ Fanello, Review to *Piccole donne*.

and possibly of different types of readership. The opening title chapter 'Playing Pilgrims' refers to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the book that informs the structure of LW. It is kept only in Carabba ('Giocando ai pellegrini'), Bemporad ('Il giuoco dei pellegrini') and Corticelli ('Si giuoca ai pellegrini'). All the other editions have a less literary and more appealing title, targeted at a young female audience. Therefore we find the following opening titles: 'Le quattro sorelle' (Aurora), 'Giorno di vigilia' (Bietti) and 'Il babbo scrive' (Fiorini). The special attention to these two types of audience is particularly evident in the Aurora table of contents and in the derivative one, Fiorini. Chapter 3, 'The Laurence boy', is turned into 'Al ballo' where the focus shifts from the male character Laurence to an event where girls wear beautiful dresses and are accompanied or look for a dance partner. The translation of the title of chap. 6 'Beth finds the palace beautiful' into 'Beth e il palazzo incantato' hints at fairy tales, magic and fantastic worlds. Alongside this, one chapter title is dedicated to the youngest and vainest sister Amy, 'Amy si caccia nei pasticci', and the final chapter hints at the romantic element in the book 'Una dichiarazione d'amore' instead of the less enticing 'Aunt March settles the question'.

From the analysis of the forewords and some paratextual features of the Italian editions of LW a number of reflections and hypotheses can be drawn. The first Carabba translation was produced because the publisher wanted to exploit the success of the previous translation of *Piccoli uomini*. This edition was reprinted in 1914 and two years later Bemporad included Alcott's novel in its successful 'Collezione dei capolavori stranieri'. While less complete than the Carabba translation, this edition relied on the presence of illustrations to appeal to young readers, and at the same time capitalised on its low price to attract also the adult audience who wanted to buy a book for their children. The Bemporad edition was regularly reprinted, six times in fact before 1936, and two of these reprints were published in 1934 and 1935. The release of the film version in Italy in 1934 pushed Bemporad to issue two reprints in those years, both illustrated with film stills. This might have been at the base of the Aurora and Bietti translations, which like Bemporad used two film stills on their covers. While directly competing with Bemporad, the two Milanese firms decided to differ from it, marketing two translations that may well have appealed to a more mature audience. None of them had illustrations, and using Katharine Hepburn on the cover might have attracted

female readers once Hepburn started to feature regularly in Italy after the release of Cukor's film. This hypothesis is confirmed at least for the Bietti edition by the direct address to women made by Enrica Castellani who refers to 'nostre lettrici' (p. 9). The Bemporad edition was reprinted again in 1940, after the publisher was forced to change its name to Marzocco. In 1941, Corticelli, which was experiencing a period of crisis, enriched its series 'Strenne' with a new edition of Alcott's book. The Corticelli edition combined appeal to a young audience through illustrations that recalled the film stills with considerable completeness towards the text and which placed itself in what way as a successor of Carabba's 1908 edition.⁶⁶⁶ The Corticelli editions of LW continued to be published until 1944. The motivation for the Fiorini edition of 1945 is more difficult to explain in part due to lack of information about this small publisher. Whilst we do not have the price of Fiorini's edition, it is reasonable to argue from quality of paper and the binding that it was less than L. 40, the price of the first Corticelli edition. It is possible, however, that this small firm, eager to appeal to a young readership, decided to publish a successful book like LW. The result was an abridged edition that could potentially fill a void in the market dominated in the previous years by Bemporad and Corticelli.

6.2 Proper names and surnames

In the Trabalzas' preface proper names are addressed as one of the aspects that directly refer to the foreign setting of a text and also present as a key problem for translators. According to Trabalzas' translational norms, proper names and surnames are kept in English, marking therefore an important difference from their previous translation of *Piccoli Uomini* in 1905, where they moved the setting of Alcott's novel to Italy, adapting names and references to an Italian context. The impossibility of keeping what in the preface is called 'la via giusta', a balance between adapting too much or too little, was criticised by two of Ciro Trabalza's colleagues, Pio Rajna and Francesco Novati (both major philologists and university Professors). For this reason, their translation of LW opted to change strategy and

⁶⁶⁶ The similarities between these two translations will be evident from the following analysis on proper names and allusions.

stay as close as possible to the original.⁶⁶⁷ On the one hand, the intervention of two eminent philologists suggesting consistent translational norms seems to point out that incoherent norms concerning foreign elements of a text were not considered acceptable in a translation for a prestigious publisher with educational aims, as was Carabba's case. On the other hand, it implies that a systematic domestication of foreign references was acceptable.

Bemporad and Corticelli Italianised the full names 'Margaret' (Margherita) and 'Elisabeth' (Elisabetta), but kept the English 'Amy', for which it would be hard to find an Italian equivalent, and the sisters' nicknames. The translations of 'Josephine', Jo's full name, are more inconsistent. Bemporad used 'Josephine' alongside 'Giuseppina'. The same goes for Corticelli, which despite mostly using the English name, nonetheless deployed the Italianised version when Jo introduces herself to Laurie. Aurora and Fiorini Italianised the name 'Elisabeth', while they kept all the others in English, including nicknames. Interestingly, Bietti kept the names in English but partially Italianised 'Jo' and 'Amy'. We have therefore 'Giò', phonetic equivalent of the English 'Jo', and 'Emy', written with the letter 'E', which recalls the Italian 'Emilia'.

All the translations retain 'Laurie', spelled 'Laury' in Aurora and 'Lawry' in Fiorini. Laurie's full name is 'Theodore', and all the translations turned it into 'Teodoro'. When Jo and Laurie discuss their names, Laurie says he was teased by his schoolmates who used to call him 'Dora'. It is implied that Laurie considered this nickname derogatory since Dora is a female name and because of this decided to change his name into Laurie. Interestingly, the deep reason for this change is lost in the two most accurate translations, Carabba's and Corticelli's, that turned 'Dora' into 'Doro'. The only possible misunderstanding with 'Doro' in Italian is with the adjective 'd'oro', having the same pronunciation but meaning 'golden'. However, this nickname lacks the disparaging feature that Dora has, weakening the cause of the change. Carabba's translators or publishers might not have considered the wordplay appropriate for a young audience and might have decided to substitute it with a more innocent one. Diambra, Corticelli's translator,

⁶⁶⁷ Trabalza 'Prefazione', p. viii. Pio Rajna (1847-1930) and Francesco Novati (1859-1915) were both eminent Italian philologists and academics. The positivist Rajna was specialised in Romance philology, while Novati was an expert in Neolatin languages and Italian literature.

might follow or consciously shared Trabalzas' choice. Nevertheless, it is a matter of fact that Aurora's and Bietti's kept the joke as it was in the original.⁶⁶⁸

As regards secondary characters, the Aurora and Fiorini are the only two editions to use Italian equivalents in the case of John Brooke, Laurie's tutor and Meg's suitor, which was turned into Giovanni. On the contrary, the Marches housemaid, 'Hannah', was systematically rendered as 'Anna' in all the translations. The surname of the family for which Meg works, the 'King', stayed in English in all the translations except in the Aurora and Fiorini that adjusted it to Italian surnames. Aurora translates it as 'Da Re', while Fiorini preferred 'Reboni'. However, surnames are mostly kept in the original form in all the translations, as with 'Laurence', 'Gardiner', 'Moffat'.

This brief analysis of the translation of proper names and surnames highlights the inconsistency of translation strategies for this category. Whilst names are the first contact the readers have with fictional characters, inaccuracies are shown not only in translations of abridged editions, but also in integral translations. However, while Carabba inconsistently applied translational norms stated in its foreword only in the case of 'Anna' and 'Teodoro', Corticelli added to these cases the Italianised form 'Margherita' and 'Elisabetta' and the interchangeable 'Giuseppina'/'Josephine'. Whilst Bemporad consistently Italianised names that have easy equivalents in Italian, except for the case 'Giuseppina'/'Josephine', Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini did not appear to have any coherent strategy towards either domesticating or keeping foreign names.

6.3 Allusions

The following analysis will tackle allusions of different types related to extra-linguistic phenomena (e.g. reference to plants, food, historical events, songs, reference to literature). Allusions are 'culture-bound elements in a text' and, as such, they 'depend largely on familiarity to convey meaning'.⁶⁶⁹ Hence they cause the so-called 'culture bumps', moments of incomprehension in the intercultural communication.⁶⁷⁰ Since translation is a cultural and sociological product, they

⁶⁶⁸ Fiorini's translation omits the joke.

⁶⁶⁹ Ritva Leppihalme, *Culture Bumps* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1997), p. viii.

⁶⁷⁰ Leppihalme first used this expression in the context of translation.

prove to be particularly interesting as they disclose translation strategies possibly tailored to specific audiences.

In chap. 1 during Jo's angry outburst about not being able to join her father in the army, she bemoans her female condition and the unavoidable process of growing up: 'I hate to think I've got to grow up, and be Miss March, and wear long gowns, and look as prim as a China Aster'. Only Carabba and Corticelli keep the comparison between the becoming a proper lady and the flower, but both adopt a domesticating strategy. While Carabba keeps the comparison with the flower but changes it to 'fior dell'adonide' (p. 4), a species allegedly more familiar to the Italian audience, Corticelli generalises it to 'fiore di serra' (p. 10) to indicate a flower living in protected conditions. On the contrary, the simile is omitted by Aurora and Fiorini and substituted by a comparison with the more 'womanly' Meg in Bemporad ('... dovrò portare le sottane lunghe e metter su un'aria di modestia e di affettazione come la mia cara sorella!', p. 4) and with a generic simile in Bietti ('di allungarmi i vestiti e di fare la fanciulla per bene', p. 8).

The same translation strategy can be seen in chap. 4 'Burdens', when Hannah brings the girls 'two hot turnovers':

'These turnovers were an institution, and the girls called them 'muffs', for they had no others and found the hot pies very comforting to their hands on cold mornings' (p. 36).

The reference to turnovers, triangular shaped pastries with a sweet filling, is omitted in four out of six translations. The Aurora and Fiorini, turn them into hot coats (Aurora p. 39, Fiorini p. 32: 'due pastrani ben caldi'), omitting the second part of the sentence and the reference to muffs. The only two editions to retain the food reference are Carabba and Corticelli, changing however turnovers to something more familiar to Italian audience: 'torte' (Carabba, p. 51) and 'schiate' (Corticelli, p. 51), a focaccia bread typical of Florence. Carabba keeps the comparison with muffs, translated as 'manicotti', while Corticelli deleted the comparison with the garment and substituted it with another type of cake, namely 'crostate': 'le ragazze le chiamavano crostate perché di crostate vere in casa non se ne vedevano' (p. 51).

In chap. 3 'The Laurence boy', Enrica Castellani introduced a French expression when Meg pleads with Jo to behave as a proper lady: 'Now hold your shoulders straight, and take short steps, and don't shake hands if you are introduced to anyone. It isn't the thing'. This last sentence has been translated into 'Che non si fa' (Carabba, p. 38), 'Non sta bene' (Bemporad, p. 18), 'Non si fa' (Corticelli, p. 41), or entirely omitted as in Aurora and Fiorini. Bietti's option for 'non è *comme il faut*' (p. 24) gives Meg a more sophisticated look and makes Jo appear even less ladylike. Overall the translation by Castellani uses foreign words, such as for instance *hall* (p. 27) and *hockey* (p. 51), always written in italics in order to highlight the American context, but at the same time implying that readers will understand the meaning of these words. This is interesting since the hostility of the Fascist regime towards foreign words culminating in 1940 with the ban on the foreign words in names of shops, enterprises and in every type of commercial.⁶⁷¹

Despite this 'foreignising' attitude, Bietti is at the centre of a case of replacement of an historical allusion with target-culture material. LW is set during the American Civil War and in chap. 1 Jo makes a reference to this after Marmee has finished reading Mr March's letter:

I'll try to be what he loves to call me, 'a little woman' and not to be rough and wild, but do my duty here instead of wanting to be somewhere else, said Jo, thinking that keeping her temper at home was a much harder task than facing a rebel or two down South (p. 12).

The Bemporad translates this as 'combattere in campo aperto contro i ribelli' (p. 8), while Aurora and Fiorini omit the entire passage. The Corticelli was the only edition that retains the American setting translating 'affrontare i ribelli laggiù, nel Sud' (pp. 18-19). Thanks to the adverb 'laggiù', Jo is referring to the South of the

⁶⁷¹ In 1941 the Reale Accademia d'Italia, the institution founded by the regime in 1929 in order to foster and promote Italian intellectual activities, started to draft lists of Italian words to substitute correspondent foreign ones (e.g. breakfast/prima colazione, beefsteak/bistecca, chef/capocuoco). Among them it is possible to read also the invitation to substitute 'hall' with 'salone'. These lists appeared also in the most important Italian newspapers. See Fabio Foresti 'Proposte interpretative e di ricerca su lingua e fascismo: la "politica linguistica"', in *Credere, obbedire, combattere: il regime linguistico nel Ventennio*, ed. by Fabio Foresti (Bologna: Pendragon, 2003), pp. 35-66.

USA. The Carabba edition opts for a literal translation: ‘affrontar uno o due ribelli del Mezzogiorno’ (p. 13). Although ‘mezzogiorno’ refers to the south, the use of the capital letter makes it ambiguous since it could specifically mean the south of Italy. However, from the notes at the beginning of the 1908 edition we know that the Trabalza translation was referring to the USA.⁶⁷² On the contrary, the Bietti moves the setting to contemporary Italy, referring to the Italian colonial enterprise in Africa, turning the sentence into ‘domare una tribù di ribelli nel centro dell’Africa’ (pp. 13-14). The year of publication of this translation, 1935, was the beginning of the Ethiopian war. The change of geographical setting and historical context might have been a way to engage an audience mostly constituted by women, as stated by addressing the ‘lettrici’ within the text, whether young or not, who possibly were suffering for the absence of fathers and husbands involved in the African campaign.

Chap. 1 ends with the March sisters and their mother singing together before going to bed. They had that habit ‘from the time they could lisp... Crinkle, crinkle, ‘ittle ‘tar’ and kept it until they were grown up, so that ‘the last sound at night was the same cheery sound, for the girls never grew too old for that familiar lullaby’ (p. 14). This lullaby is the celebrated English nursery rhyme ‘Twinkle, twinkle, little star’⁶⁷³ that apparently the March sisters used to mispronounce as children. Three translational strategies are employed in the Italian translations. The Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini omit any reference to the lullaby. Carabba and Corticelli opt for a literal translation that took into account the way children can mispronounce a correspondent Italian verse. The line becomes ‘Tintilla, tintilla, o piccola ttella’ in Carabba (pp. 15-16), where the initial sc- for ‘scintilla’ and st- ‘stella’, being hard sounds to be pronounced by little children, are simplified in t-. Corticelli follows a similar pattern with ‘Billa billa, piccola tella’ (p. 21) where the br – of the verb ‘brillare’ is reduced to the only b- and ‘tella’ underwent the same transformation as the Carabba. Both refer to this verse as a ‘ninnananna’ (Carabba, p. 16 and Corticelli, p. 21).

The Bemporad edition is different because it substitutes the lullaby with a nineteenth-century Italian song, ‘Addio, mia bella, addio’. This song, also known as

⁶⁷² ‘La guerra a cui si allude è quella di Secessione degli Stati Uniti del Sud dall’Unione degli Stati Uniti perché il Nord voleva liberare gli schiavi contro la volontà del Sud’. Trabalza, ‘Prefazione’, p. xii.

⁶⁷³ This lullaby was often parodied and one of its parodies appears in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, recited by the Hatter during the mad tea-party.

'l'addio del volontario', was written in Florence in 1848 by Carlo Alberto Bosi and soon became extremely popular. Tuscan volunteers, who left their homes to fight the Austrians in the battle of Curtatone and Montanara during the first war of independence, were the first to sing it.⁶⁷⁴ The popularity of the song lasted until the Fascist regime, as it was still used in propagandistic newsreels of the Ethiopian war as a soundtrack for the soldiers' departure to Africa.⁶⁷⁵ Though the Bemporad series, including LW, was specifically aimed at young readers, this choice seems aimed at adults like the colonial reference that Bietti made in the same chapter. It might also be that the nineteenth-century song was very popular with children, or simply that the Bemporad translator did not recognise Alcott's allusion.⁶⁷⁶ Bemporad retained the change of cultural setting, introducing a religious element absent in the original book. In this edition, the sisters and their mother do not sing a lullaby before going to bed, but 'una preghiera della sera' (p. 9). The Bemporad translator might have thought that a prayer was more appropriate than a lullaby for a female Italian audience, or he/she might have been familiar with Fabbi's illustrations and with his emphasis of the religious element in the book.⁶⁷⁷ The Bemporad influence lasted until 1934, as we find in the Aurora edition an even stranger religious ending: 'l'ultima nota della sera si spegneva nel canto della grazia levato al Signore' (p. 16).

6.3.1 Books' titles and fictional characters

Allusions to fictional characters provide two further signs of the Corticelli attempt to appeal to a young audience. At the beginning of chap. 3 Jo is eating apples and

⁶⁷⁴ See Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Chi l'ha detto? Tesoro di citazioni italiane e straniere di origine letteraria e storica, ordinate e annotate da Giuseppe Fumagalli* (Milan: Hoepli, 1995), p. 212 and Stefano Pivato, *Bella ciao: canto e politica nella storia d'Italia* (Rome; Bari: Laterza, 2007), p. 28.

⁶⁷⁵ Describing one of these newsreels, Cardillo states: 'Si intravedono sulle fiancate delle navi che partono per l'Etiopia gigantografie di Mussolini. Aleggja un certo romanticismo di maniera fra il fumo della nave e il refrain di "Addio, mia bella addio..."'. In Massimo Cardillo, *Il duce in moviola: politica e divismo nei cinegiornali e documentari "Luce"* (Bari: Dedalo, 1983), p. 52, pp. 65-66.

⁶⁷⁶ Children's literature entails the problem of allusions that only children or people highly familiar with this type of literature can recognise, especially when there are references to nursery rhymes, fables or fairy tales. This is a risk that can happen to adult readers in their own language, hence the higher risk that this happens with translator dealing with a foreign text. See B. J. Epstein *Translating Expressive Language in Children's Literature: Problems and Solutions* (Oxford; New York: Peter Lang, 2012), p. 138-39.

⁶⁷⁷ See section 5.2. The last illustration of the Bemporad edition is of Amy praying for her sister Beth who was suffering from scarlet fever (chap. 19).

reading *The Heir of Redcliffe* in the company of Scrabble, a little mouse. The Carabba edition is the only one to keep the mouse's English name, while the other translations omit the name as we find in Bemporad, Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini. Corticelli adds an allusion to the original text and turns the name 'Scrabble' into the more famous 'Topolino'. Scrabble appears also in chap. 14 'Secrets' and on that occasion the Corticelli keeps the original name, while we find 'Topina' in Aurora (p. 109), Bietti (p. 109) and Fiorini (p. 75). Whilst not consistent and maybe inspired by a comparison with these other translations, it is arguable that the use of 'Topolino' is aimed at a young audience.⁶⁷⁸ The first Disney comic to arrive in Italy, *Topolino* was published by Nerbini from 1932 to 1935, before Mondadori obtained an exclusive licence from Disney for an unlimited time period to use the name and the character of Topolino/Mickey Mouse. The success of the American character was not unchallenged. In 1941, the same year of Corticelli's edition, Mondadori avoided the suppression of the masthead requested by MinCulPop as the Milanese publisher had already increased the amount of Italian material published in *Topolino*.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁸ With respect to the appeal to the young audience by Corticelli, it may be worth remembering another occurrence. In chap. 1 Amy complains about her impertinent schoolmates: 'who plague you if you don't know your lessons, and laugh at your dresses, and label your father if he isn't rich'. The misuse of 'label' instead of 'libel' sparks Jo's sarcastic reaction: 'If you mean libel, I'd say so, and not to talk about labels, as if Papa was a pickle bottle' (p. 6). Carabba translates 'to libel' with 'diffamare' and looks for a phonetically similar verb, 'sfamare': '(...) e sfamano vostro padre se non è ricco, e v'insultano se non portate il naso Greco' - 'Se vuoi dire diffamano, dillo, e non parlar di sfamare, come se papa fosse un morto di fame' (p. 3). On the contrary, Corticelli moves the wordplay to what in Alcott's text is 'to laugh', translating it as 'prendere in circolo' against the correct form 'prendere in giro': '... vi prendono in circolo perché vostro padre non è ricco, o perché non avete un bel nasino' - 'Si dice "prendere in giro", non "prendere in circolo" - osservò Jo con una risata' (pp. 8-9). Changing the subject of the wordplay seems to be more easily grasped by a young audience, because 'prendere in giro' is an expression with which children are very likely to have been familiar. Jo's reply, which correcting Amy's mistake, explains the wordplay, seems to point in the same direction. On the contrary, is less likely to think that children and young use the verb 'diffamare'. This might imply the need for young readers to ask for the help of adults to understand the meaning of this word. Moreover, the translation of the wordplay in Carabba hints at the hard economic situation of the March family, setting the tone of the wordplay on a more serious ground. On humour and wordplay in translation see at least Dirk Delabastita, *There's a Double Tongue* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993), his edited volume *Traductio: Essays on Punning and Translation* (Manchester; Namur: St. Jerome; Presses Universitaires de Namur, 1997) and John Rutherford 'Translating fun: Don Quixote', in *The Translator as Writer*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Peter Bush (London; New York: Continuum, 2006), pp. 71-83.

⁶⁷⁹ *Topolino's* masthead in Italy was a mixture of American and Italian materials. *Topolino* by Nerbini contained stories and illustrations by Italian artists regardless of copyright. When Mondadori took over, it used Disney alongside US and Italian material. In 1942, when Italy declared war to the USA, *Topolino* underwent further changes. It was allowed to keep its masthead, but the three pages of Topolino's adventures were substituted with human characters and the protagonist's name became 'Tuffolino'. See Bonsaver, *Censorship*, pp. 234-35 and David Forgacs

Another allusion to a fictional character is in chapter 4 'Burdens'. Describing Amy March, Alcott compares her flat nose to Petrea's. Petrea is the daughter of Elisa and Judge Frank, the protagonists of the novel *Hemmet* (1839) (*The Home*, 1843), who suffers because of the shape of her nose. The novel was by the Swedish writer Frederika Bremer (1801-65), one of the authors read by the Alcotts, who also visited Orchard House in 1850 and met Louisa personally.⁶⁸⁰ The only Italian translation of Bremer's work is *Le figlie del presidente* (Milan: Tip. Eusebiana) (*Presidentens Döttrar*, 1834), published for the first time in 1880.⁶⁸¹ Bremer was known in Italy to specialists of Swedish literature,⁶⁸² but it is unlikely that the reference to Petrea's nose could have any meaning to an Italian audience. Diambra, therefore, chose a correspondent character that might be popular among Italian readers, as Petrea was familiar to Alcott's sisters, and who also had an unpleasantly shaped nose, namely Pinocchio.⁶⁸³

The only literary allusions that are almost unanimously translated in the corpus selected are those concerning Shakespeare's works or characters. In chap. 1 Jo states she would like to play *Macbeth*, 'if we only had a trapdoor for Banquo'. The reference to Macbeth is retained in all the translations and the same goes for Banquo, though only Carabba and Bietti keep the original name, while the other translations adapt it to the Italian 'Banco'. There is a different situation in chap. 14. After finding out that Laurie is taking fencing lessons, Jo proposes that he teaches her: 'when we play HAMLET, you can be Laertes, and we'll make a fine thing of the fencing scene'. The reference to the duel between Hamlet and Laertes (act V, scene II), is kept in most of the translations (Carabba p. 216, Bemporad p. 80, Bietti p. 73 and Corticelli p. 194). None of the translations could ignore the popularity of

and Stephen Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp. 113-16.

⁶⁸⁰ Alcott mentions Bremer in chap. 8 'Jo meets Apollyon' as one of the authors Marmee and her daughters used to read while sewing together. We know from Alcott's diary that she preferred Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* to Bremer's work, while her mother preferred Bremer 'as more wholesome'. In Alcott, *Her Life, Letters and Journals*, ed. by Ednah Dow Cheney (Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 2010), p. 63.

⁶⁸¹ The same year the book was also published by Brigola, always in Milan and later on in 1921 by Treves.

⁶⁸² 'Gli schizzi, ossia [sic] disegni della vita quotidiana, *Teckningar utur hvardags-lifvet*, della signorina Federica Bremer formano sempre una lettura prediletta del pubblico romantico, e dei quali furono già pubblicate tre parti, ch'ebbero uno smercio pressoché incredibile ed unico finora nella libreria svezzese', in *Storia della letteratura in Danimarca e in Svezia* di S. Marmier, 2 vols, trans. by Cav. Filippo de' Bardi (Florence: Piatti, 1841), p. 19.

⁶⁸³ On the popularity of Pinocchio in Italy, see section 1.4. and 2.1.

Shakespeare's works, which were widely translated in Italy in the nineteenth century and were frequently retranslated during the Ventennio.⁶⁸⁴

The very first reference to a book's title is at the beginning of the first chapter of LW. The sisters think of what they would like to buy for themselves for Christmas and Jo, being a bookworm, affirms her intention to buy the compendium volume *Undine and Sintram*. These books, published by the German writer Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué in 1811 and 1814, were familiar to Alcott and owned by her sister Lizzie.⁶⁸⁵ This story was known in the English-speaking countries and by 1864 both volumes had already appeared in 14 editions in the USA.⁶⁸⁶ The reference to de la Motte Fouqué's book is kept in Carabba, Bemporad and Corticelli. The title was progressively Italianised, from *Undine e Sintram* in Carabba, to *Undina e Sintram* in Bemporad, then *Ondina e Sintram* in Corticelli.⁶⁸⁷ Aurora and Fiorini omit the reference talking generically of 'un bel libro', while interestingly Bietti substitutes the German book with *Il conte di Montecristo* by Alexandre Dumas.

⁶⁸⁴ On the huge topic of retranslations of Shakespeare in Italy under Fascism, see at least Alessandra Calvani, 'Le donne in traduzione. Le traduttrici di Shakespeare dal 1798 al primo decennio fascista', *Intralinea* 12, 2010, available at <http://www.intralinea.org/archive/article/Le_donne_in_traduzione> [accessed January 2016], Nancy Isenberg, 'Shakespeare's Rome in Rome's Wooden 'O'', in *Identity, Otherness and Empire in Shakespeare's Rome*, ed. by Maria del Sapio Garbero (Oxford: Routledge, 2009), pp. 175-87 (p. 177), Maria D'Anniballe, 'Redefining Urban Identity in Fascist Verona' in *New Perspectives in Italian Cultural Studies: The Arts and the History*, 2 vols, ed. by Graziella Parati (Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson, 2012), pp. 223-43 (p. 234). It is worth reminding that in 1938 UTET collected a series of adaptations of Shakespeare's works in the volume *Nel regno di Ariele*, published in the series 'La Scala d'oro' and targeting young readers.

⁶⁸⁵ Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott: a Biography* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1999), p. 84.

⁶⁸⁶ The book was translated in English in 1818 by George Soane and adapted into a play in 1821. Published in Britain and in the USA, it received positive reviews from Coleridge, Scott and Poe. The plot revolves around the knight Huldbrand uncertain between the love for the water spirit Undine and the human Bertalda. On *Undine and Sintram* and La Motte Fouqué's influence on Alcott and American literature see David Blamires, *Telling Tales. The impact of Germany on English Children's Books 1780-1918* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2013), pp. 121-33, Lathey, *The role of Translators* (chap. 5, 'Religious Stories and the Artful Fairy Tale in the Nineteenth Century', pp. 79-94) and Thomas Ruys Smith, 'Louisa May Alcott and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué', *American Scrapbook*, 27 March 2012, available at <<http://americanscrapbook.blogspot.co.uk/2012/03/louisa-may-alcott-and-friedrich-de-la.html>> [accessed November 2016].

⁶⁸⁷ According to data provided by Italian library catalogues, the first Italian edition of *Undine* was allegedly published in 1815 and published in Leipzig. It was followed in 1836 by an edition published in Milan by Stella and around the mid nineteenth century a ballet from de la Motte Fouqué's book was choreographed by the Italian Antonio Cortesi. In 1928 Corticelli published an illustrated edition translated by Giulia Celenza.

The Dumas book was first published in serialised version in 1844 and was translated in Italy for the first time in Naples by Carlo Batelli in 1846. After that, all the major Italian houses of that time published the novel (e.g. Sonzogno in 1869, Salani in 1885, Bietti in 1890). It is hard to find correspondences between the German folkloric tale of Undine and the story of the escape and revenge of Edmond Dantes narrated by Dumas. However, if we look at Bietti as a publisher, we find that its 1890 edition of Dumas' novel claimed to be the only Italian edition of the latest French edition by Dufour and Mulat (1849) with the addition of important archival notes. Bietti clearly tried to stand out among the publishers and to boost sales of its edition. Dumas novel continued to be translated throughout the following decades and its success did not diminish in the Fascist period. In the 1930 the novel was republished by two newspapers in Rome and Naples, an episode that raised criticism in *Critica Fascista*.⁶⁸⁸ The book was still in the catalogues of some Italian firms (Salani, Cioffi and Sonzogno), and also in collections of new publishers such as Nerbini in 1923 and Barion in 1927.

Considering this ongoing interest towards Dumas' novel, it is not surprising that the book appeared again in the Bietti catalogue in 1932. In 1935 it became part of the 'Biblioteca réclame', with other French novels such as *Le rouge et le noir* by Stendhal and *Les mystères de Paris* by Sue. It is possible that the reason why *Undine and Sintram* was substituted with *Le comte de Montecristo* in Bietti's translation can be explained by external reasons. The title of a very popular book that had been recently published by the same firm that was publishing LW could have been used as a subtle way to publicise the Bietti edition of Dumas' novel against the new competing edition by Barion that was reissued until 1937 and that was targeting the same segment of audience.⁶⁸⁹

A similar case of substitution of a book's title is found at the beginning of chap. 3 'Laurence boy', when Jo is reading in the attic. She is reading Charlotte

⁶⁸⁸ In *Critica Fascista* of August 1930 the newspapers were blamed for not taking into account changes in literary taste and not considering Italian novels, as reported in Gramsci, *Quaderni dal carcere*, pp. 2113-14.

⁶⁸⁹ Simultaneous editions of the same books by Barion and Bietti were not an isolated case. Between 1929 and 1933 Bietti published *Delitto e castigo* in its 'Biblioteca russa' at the price of L. 4. In 1931 Barion issued a integral translation by Luigi Ermete Zalapy at the same price. See Sergia Adamo, 'La casa editrice Slavia', in *Stampa e piccola editoria*, pp. 53-98.

Yonge's romantic novel *Heir of Redclyffe* (1853).⁶⁹⁰ Though the book was famous in the UK and in the USA,⁶⁹¹ there are no traces of its translations in Italy.⁶⁹² Four out of the six Italian translations render the title literally as *L'erede di Redclyffe*, but the Aurora and Fiorini turn 'Redclyffe' respectively into 'Rodclyff' and 'Rodeliff'. The Bemporad does not mention the title of the book Jo is reading while the Bietti again substitutes the original one with 'Il figlio dello sceriffo'. It is not easy to understand where the Bietti reference comes from. The only corresponding English title is *The Sheriff's Son* (1917) by the British-born American writer William MacLeod Raine (1871-1954), who specialised in stories about the Old West. This novel tells the story of a sheriff's son who becomes a lawyer in his father's former district and makes the lawbreaker's daughter fall in love with him. The book does not seem to have been translated in Italian. Castellani might have made up a title, relying perhaps on the similar pronunciation of 'Redclyffe' and 'sheriff'. Another possible hypothesis might be that the Bietti translator was familiar with Raine's book and that she was inspired by the Westerns circulating in Italy, especially in comics. To support this latter hypothesis, however, it is worth noting that *The Sheriff's Son* is a Western with strong romantic aspects, which could therefore appeal to a female audience while referring to a genre that was gaining popularity in Italy especially among the young.⁶⁹³

In chap. 4 'Burdens' the sisters' faults they need to overcome to become little women are listed. At the end of the chapter Marmee tells a moral story about four

⁶⁹⁰ Yonge's romantic novel tells the story of the positive hero Guy Morville unfairly accused of being a gambler by his cousin Philip. After being exonerated, Guy is able to marry his fiancé Amy. However, during their honeymoon in Italy, Guy finds Philip suffering a life threatening disease, takes care of him until his recovery but he himself contracts the illness and dies.

⁶⁹¹ *The Heir of Redclyffe* allowed Yonge to reach a broad British and North American audience. The book was popular among very diverse readers, such as the soldiers fighting in the Crimean War and the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. See Tamara Wagner, 'Introduction', in *Charlotte Yonge: Rereading Domestic Religious Fiction* edited by Wagner (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-7 (p. 1).

⁶⁹² Translations of Yonge's novels began in 1913 with *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest* (La colomba nel nido dell'aquila, Rome: Armani and Stein). Her second work to be translated *The Little Duke*, or, *Richard the Fearless*, was published by Carabba in 1920 and reprinted in 1931. Other translations appeared in Italy in the 1930s (e.g. *Le lance di Lynwood*, Milan: Ultra, 1935 and *Storia di una rondinella*, Milan: Corbaccio, 1933).

⁶⁹³ The American Western strip *Buffalo Bill* was published in the Nerbini magazine *L'Avventuroso*. The magazine was extremely successful reaching between 1935 and 1938 an average of 300,000/350,00 copies sold. See Fausto Colombo, *L'industria culturale italiana dal 1900 alla seconda guerra mondiale. Tendenze della produzione e del consumo* (Milan: I.S.U., 1997), p. 97. However, the substitution of Yonge's title in Bietti's edition deletes an important intertextual reference. According to Sands-O'Connor, Alcott modelled Laurie's character on Guy Morville. In Karen Sands-O'Connor, 'Why Jo Didn't Marry Laurie: Louisa May Alcott and the *Heir of Redclyffe*', *The American Transcendental Quarterly*, 15.1 (2001), 23-41.

girls who are not happy with what they have and keep wishing to have more, but who in the end learn how to be satisfied with what they have. The chapter closes with a quote from UTC: 'We needed that lesson, and we won't forget it. If we do so, you just say to us, as old Chloe did in Uncle Tom, 'Tink ob yer marcies, chillen, tink ob yer marcies!' added Jo'.⁶⁹⁴ This quote is a homage to Beecher Stowe, since not only was Alcott a reader of Stowe, but she hoped to emulate the success of UTC.⁶⁹⁵ While this chapter is shortened in the Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini versions, Carabba, Bemporad and Corticelli give the entire quotation and the reference to Beecher Stowe's book. Despite the enormous success UTC enjoyed in Italy, the Trabalza translation is surprisingly inaccurate since it turns Chloe, Tom's wife, into a man, 'il vecchio Cloe' (p. 66). The Bemporad keeps 'old Chloe' in English, while Corticelli corrects Trabalza's mistake with 'la vecchia Cloe' (p. 64).

In the same chap. 4, but still in the part of the chapter missing in Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini, Jo mentions *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) by Oliver Goldsmith, as the book she usually starts to read when Aunt March falls asleep. This novel was first translated into Italian by Giovanni Berchet and published by Le Monnier in 1856. Other editions had followed in nineteenth-century Italy, not only by Le Monnier (1864), but also by Sonzogno (1884). As was with *Le comte de Montecristo*, Goldsmith's novel had also been recently republished by Vallecchi (1931), Signorelli (1932) and Mondadori (1933). The title is kept and translated into Italian in Carabba, Bemporad and Corticelli. All these editions retain the allusion to the Primrose family, protagonists of Goldsmith's novel.

The last book's title I want to mention is quoted in chap. 14, 'Secrets' as it is an example of the use of allusions for characterisation. As Lippehalme states

the translation of allusions involves not just names as such, but most importantly, the problem of transferring connotations evoked by a name in one language culture into another, where these connotations are much weaker or non-existent.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁴ 'Think of your mercies, children, think of your mercies'. Alcott, *Little Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 45.

⁶⁹⁵ Alcott wrote in a journal entry that UTC was her favourite book. See Elbert, *A Hunger for Home* (p. 91) and Abate, *Tomboys*, p. 34.

⁶⁹⁶ Lippehalme, *Culture Bumps*, pp. 79-80. To have a list of the functions performed by allusions see pp. 37-53.

Jo's pride in her published tale, *Rival Painters*, is compared to that of Frances Fanny Burney, author of the epistolary novel *Evelina* (1778).⁶⁹⁷ Burney was the secretary and copyist of her father, the composer and music historian Charles Burney. Her career as a writer started with difficulty as she firstly published *Evelina* anonymously and without her father's permission and this book can be considered 'her declaration of independence'.⁶⁹⁸ The history of Burney's career recalls Jo's vicissitudes and literary debut. The allusion was kept and literally translated only in Carabba and Corticelli, while the other translations omitted it. This omission in most of the translations can be ascribed to the lack of knowledge of Burney's works. *Evelina* was translated for the first time in Italy only in 2001.⁶⁹⁹

The combined analysis of the introductions, indices and the translation of proper names and allusions demonstrates how opposing translational tendencies co-exist in the editions studied. Despite a few occurrences in which the selected translations seem to act on a case-by-case basis with regard to the translation of allusions, we find that the Carabba and Corticelli translations retain allusions. In Carabba's case this is stated explicitly in the foreword and is undertaken 'in order to interest children in topics that they ought to learn about'.⁷⁰⁰ The Corticelli positions itself as the successor to the Carabba edition, and generally follows the same norms of translation with a couple of interesting differences, such as replacing Petrea with Pinocchio and adding a reference to Topolino, that can be viewed as an attempt to entice and involve young readers. The retention of allusions seem to be overall determined by the aim of the edition/translation and not by the competence of targeted readers. The two editions that retain most of the allusions are the two integral translations targeting children. The retention of allusions can be used as an educational tool, but leaves open the problem of the recognition of the allusions by readers if the original references are not part of the knowledge of the audience. In the Carabba edition, readers could be helped by the list of notes at the end of the foreword, but that is not exhaustive.

⁶⁹⁷ The novel recounts Evelina's entry into Eighteenth-century society and, through her perspective and a series of comic episodes, criticizes English society.

⁶⁹⁸ Margaret Anne Doody, *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 39.

⁶⁹⁹ Fanny Burney, *Evelina*, trans. by Chiara Vatteroni (Rome: Fazi, 2001).

⁷⁰⁰ Epstein, *Translating Expressive Language*, p. 135.

The Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini translations mostly delete allusions. This translational strategy can be explained with reference to the quick rhythm of publishing of popular books and consequent incompleteness of their translations. This applies in the case of the Aurora and Bietti editions, which have no educational aim and took advantage of the success of the film version of LW in order to sell copies. Hence, for instance the retention of the allusion to Macbeth, considered common knowledge, but the deletion of allusions judged to be too obscure for the audience. In an intermediate position we find Bemporad's edition, where deletions and retentions and replacements are almost equal in number. The translational choices of the Florentine edition mirror its being the first translation to follow Carabba, but also the first to explicitly aim at a most popular segment of the market. The less rigid norms of the Bemporad and Bietti translations lead to interesting cases of replacement (the use of the song 'Addio, mia bella, addio' and the allusion to the colonial campaign).

Ultimately, the retranslation hypothesis according to which retranslations show a progressive closeness towards the original text with the passing of time does not seem to find any validation in the analysis of this corpus. The two closest to the original translations of LW place themselves at the beginning and almost at the end of the considered timeframe, while abridged and rather free translations occupy the space in between. The series of retranslations of LW during the Ventennio can be explained by extratextual factors, above all the attempt to provide different type of audiences with different types of editions and the need for publishing houses to market their product following the cinematographic medium or in order to capitalise on the popularity of recently released film of LW.

6.4 Translating Jo

As already highlighted in the introduction, the character of Jo is a site of controversy. She is a girl who wants to become a writer, acquire economic independence and who is not at ease with canonical female features. At the same time, she is prone to self-sacrifice, and, at the end of the second volume, accepts the proposal of Professor Bhaer. She shares some features with what Addis Saba calls 'la donna muliebre', a model woman promoted by the regime at the crossroads between a feminist type and a weak and sentimental woman, a strong and serene

woman who could find a balance between sacrifice, spontaneity, obedience and joy.⁷⁰¹ For this reason, it is worthy examining how Jo's opposing features are rendered in translations of the Ventennio.

Among the selected translations mostly the Aurora (and consequently the Fiorini) and Corticelli ones show some interventions around Jo's depiction. All of them, however, offer different portraits of Jo since the very first lines of the opening chapter. LW opens with the famous sentence 'Christmas won't be Christmas without any presents, grumbled Jo, lying on the rug' (p. 5). Later, when Jo wishes to have the book *Undine and Sintram* for Christmas, Alcott informs the reader that she is a bookworm. From the beginning of the first chapter Jo is presented to readers as grumpy and as a bookworm. The Carabba, Bemporad and Bietti literally translate 'grumbled' with 'brontolò', while 'grumbling Jo' is toned down in the Aurora and Fiorini translations where Jo just 'mormorò' the sentence. The Corticelli translation, by contrast, emphasises Jo's attitude, by adding an adjective: 'brontolò malcontenta'. Jo's second feature also undergoes an interesting transformation. While represented as a 'topo di biblioteca' by Bietti, she is turned into a 'divoratrice di libri'⁷⁰² in Carabba and Corticelli, whose choice recalls the image of readers eating and devouring books, completely absorbed in the fictional world that started to be widespread during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.⁷⁰³

Aurora and Fiorini turn Jo into an 'appassionata lettrice', pinpointing her sentimental attitude to reading. This sentimental turn is accompanied by a further change in the introductory verb of the sentence that becomes 'sospirare'.⁷⁰⁴ Reporting signals, such as verbs introducing direct speech, help in delineating the

⁷⁰¹ Addis Saba, 'La donna "muliebre"', in *La corporazione delle donne*, pp. 1-71 (pp. 34-36).

⁷⁰² The 'devouring' feature comes back in Bietti in the same opening chapter in the wordplay that turned Jo into a 'lupo mannaro' that we have seen in the previous section ('ti consiglierei di non tirare in ballo la fame proprio ora, che la mia può far concorrenza a quella del lupo mannaro') and at the beginning of chapter 3, when Jo is represented in Bietti as 'intenta a divorare mele e a spargere lacrime' (p. 21). Interestingly, Aurora and Fiorini omit the physical act of eating: 'Meg, arrivando nel grande solaio, scorse la sorella comodamente sdraiata su un divano al quale mancava una gamba, immersa nella commovente lettura' (pp. 22, 24).

⁷⁰³ Catherine Sheldrick Ross, 'Metaphors of Reading', *The Journal of Library History*, 22.2 (1987), 147-63. Hochman, 'Devouring *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: Antebellum Common Readers', in *The History of Reading*, I, ed. by Shafquat Towheed, W. R. Owens (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 87-100.

⁷⁰⁴ On the relationship between women and sentimental fiction, see at least Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility. Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Lori Merish, *Sentimental Materialism. Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-century American Literature* (Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 2000).

characters' personality.⁷⁰⁵ This last change portrays a rather mild character and appears to be particularly interesting as the corresponding English verb, 'to whisper', is often used in the novel in association with Beth, the most delicate sister. The Aurora retains the sentimental opening of the chapter when Jo talks about the absence of Mr. March from her and her sisters' lives in the war. Jo's statement: 'We haven't got Father, and shall not have him for a long time' acquires a more dramatic twist as it is turned into 'Ma il babbo è come se non l'avessimo, in questo periodo, chi sa quando potrà tornare a casa, poveretto, e....' (p. 5).

As Abate recalls, 'the gender bending behaviour of Jo March is rooted in her desire to be a Union soldier and join her father after the conflict'.⁷⁰⁶ Jo's outburst about the female condition happens in chap. 1 during a discussion with her sisters. Jo has just been scolded by Meg because of her manly behaviour and reminded to her duty to behave like a proper young lady. Jo's reaction is furious:

I'm not! And if turning up my hair makes me one, I'll wear it in two tails till I'm twenty, cried Jo, pulling off her net, and shaking down a chestnut mane. I hate to think I've got to grow up, and be Miss March, and wear long gowns, and look as prim as a China Aster! It's bad enough to be a girl, anyway, when I like boy's games and work and manners! I can't get over my disappointment in not being a boy. And it's worse than ever now, for I'm dying to go and fight with Papa. And I can only stay home and knit, like a poky old woman!

And Jo shook the blue army sock till the needles rattled like castanets, and her ball bounded across the room (p. 7).

This passage that shows Jo's disappointment features physical reactions accompanying her resentment and rebellion. These consist in taking her hair out of her net and shaking the sock she is knitting until the needles rattle. The translations are equally divided in representing them. Not only do the Carabba, Bemporad and Corticelli translate both of them, but Bemporad also emphasises Jo's reactions. In this version Jo tears off the net ('strappandosi via la rete', p. 4) and throws away the sock in an impulse ('in un impeto di rabbia, gettò per terra la

⁷⁰⁵ Silvia Bruti, 'Reporting Signals in Narrative Texts: *Little Women* and its Italian Translations', *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata*, 35.3 (2003), 61-86 (pp. 63-64).

⁷⁰⁶ Abate, *Tom-boys*, p. 27.

calza', p. 4). The Aurora, Bietti and Fiorini delete Jo's first reaction while keeping the second. However, the Aurora translation stands out for opposite reasons respect to those seen before. If in this version we might predict a mild Jo, toning down the anger expressed in the original version, we find instead a character making a plea on the behalf of the female condition. Firstly, in the Aurora edition Jo does not regret being a girl because she shares their interest for work and games, and likes their way of behaving, but because she is not free to do whatever she likes, as boys can do: 'È già grave che io debba rassegnarmi a non essere un ragazzo, libero di fare ciò che gli pare' (p. 8). Secondly, Jo shares her destiny 'to stay at home and knit' with all the women: 'Me ne andrei al fronte col babbo, a combattere. Invece, nossignore... facciamo la calza poiché questo è il nostro destino' (p. 8). The twist Maria Parisi gave to this passage sounds like a claim about a condition the translator believed ongoing at that time and felt to share in first person. By doing so, she enhanced the visibility of the condition of all women and criticised at the same time the disparity of social attitudes towards gender roles. As previously seen, Fascist society was based on a rigid division of roles between men and women. Women's activities were subject to restrictive laws that limited their sphere of freedom. They had limited access to the job market and were banned from holding any public office. Even 'Fasci femminili', that gathered together women supporters of the regime, were subject to the direction of the general Party Secretariat from 1925 and therefore denied any real political leverage. Moreover, the Fascist regime allied with the Catholic Church in order to curb any threat of emancipation of private and sexual lives. In 1930 the encyclical *Casti Connubi* reaffirmed reproduction as the main aim of marriage, people were not allowed to divorce, women had to take their husbands' citizenship and live where they prescribed. Whilst women's roles were almost totally associated with those of mothers, when parents disagreed about their children the father's will was predominant and women could exercise the *patria potestas* only in extreme cases such as when fathers were in prison, had emigrated or abandoned the family.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁷ Perry Wilson, 'Gender and the Private Sphere in Liberal and Fascist Italy' in *Gender, Family and Sexuality. The Private Sphere in Italy*, ed. by Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 1-19 and Wilson, 'Italy', in *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe 1919-1945* edited by Kevin Passmore (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 11-32.

Interestingly, the previous passage is the only moment in the chapters selected in which the Aurora adds what one might call a feminist twist to the text.⁷⁰⁸ Looking at the theme of work and economic independence, we find two understatements in this translation. The first is again in chap. 1 when Jo lays claim to her right to buy what she wants for Christmas with the money she earned from her work. Alcott's text reads 'I'm sure we work hard enough to earn it, cried Jo'. Aurora and Fiorini omit this passage, while all the other translations keep the sentence in the plural. On the contrary, the Corticelli translation turns a statement that concerns all the sisters into a personal statement, in which Jo reaffirms herself as a person who works and earns money guaranteeing some level of independence: 'Il mio [denaro] mi pare che ho sgobbato abbastanza per guadagnarmelo' (p. 8).

The theme of money is introduced again after Jo sees her stories published in the newspaper and fantasises about the chance of being paid for them. However, her happiness depends almost entirely on her chances of becoming independent, but also of helping her family in a moment of distress. In chap. 'Secrets' Alcott's text reads: 'He [Laurie] said it was good and I shall write more, and he's going to get the next paid for, and I am so happy for in time I may be able to support myself and help the girls'. The Aurora, Fiorini and Bietti editions omit the reference to Jo's economic independence and underline only her ability to support her family. In the Aurora she addresses her sisters: 'Ragazze, fra breve vedrete quanto denaro potrò darvi' (pp. 114-15), while the Bietti substitutes the direct speech with a narrative comment and highlights her ability to help her mother: 'lei si sentiva felice, all'idea di poter far qualcosa per aiutare la mamma' (pp. 78-79). Both these statements seem to echo the important role that family played under Fascism in young women's lives. Not only was the figure of the modern 'maschietta' barely known in rural areas, but still in the 1930s 'even in urban Italy girlhood pivoted almost wholly around life in the family'.⁷⁰⁹ At the same time, families were starting to encourage behaviour that enhanced their daughters' independence, such as going to work if necessary to the family. In this scenario, the Aurora, Fiorini and Bietti

⁷⁰⁸ Roberta Trites is critical about the feminist reading of the character of Jo that she considers much more concerned about others' problems and happiness than concentrated on herself and ending as 'young adults preoccupied by love interests'. In Trites, *Waking Sleeping Beauty: Feminist Voices in Children's Novels* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1997), p. 78.

⁷⁰⁹ De Grazia, *How Fascism*, p. 122.

translations keep this emancipatory activity within the confines of an action done for the sake of family and not for a personal interest.

It is worth noting that the Aurora version introduces two significant changes about Jo's writing. In chap. 8 'Jo meets Apollyon' Jo has to deal with her anger resulted from Amy burning her notebook with all the stories she had written so far with a view to their publication. Jo's reaction to Amy's behaviour is one of fury. When Amy is surprised that Jo does not take her along to go skating, Meg reminds her of what she had done: 'it was very hard to forgive the loss of her precious little book'. The Carabba, Bemporad and Corticelli respectively opt for 'è difficile perdonare la distruzione d'un prezioso libretto' (Carabba, p. 112), 'è una cosa ben dura il perdonare la perdita del suo prezioso libretto' (Bemporad p. 50) or 'è ben duro per lei perdonare la perdita del suo prezioso quaderno' (Corticelli p. 104), the Aurora translator adds a personal interpretation: 'distruggendo il suo manoscritto hai distrutto anche molte sue illusioni' (p. 78) and the Fiorini translation emphasises this even more strongly: 'hai distrutto col manoscritto tutte le sue illusioni' (p. 55). Both these versions reduce Jo's aspirations and hopes for the future to mere fantasies devoid of any chance of becoming real.

The chapter 'Secrets' closes with a few lines that frame Jo's ideal happiness consisting of independence and love of her nearest and dearest:

Jo's breath gave out here, and wrapping her head in the paper, she bedewed her little story with a few natural tears, for to be independent and earn the praise of those she loved were the dearest wishes of her heart, and this seemed to be the first step toward that happy end (p. 153).

While the Carabba, Bemporad, Bietti and Corticelli keep both the sides of this ideal happy end, the Aurora and Fiorini intensify the sentimental aspect of the scene concealing her desire for independence.

E perché non mettersero in dubbio questo suo stato di giubilo, la severa Jo si sciolse in lagrime che andarono a bagnare il foglio nel punto ove era la firma. Fu quello il battesimo letterario di Josephine March (Aurora, pp. 114-15).

Oh come sono felice! – e Jo si sciolse in lagrime e le lagrime andarono proprio a bagnare la firma Josephine Jo (Fiorini, p. 80).

This image of tears wetting Jo's signature at the bottom of her tales adds a melodramatic tone. Furthermore, the Aurora translation emphasises Jo's reaction adding the adjective 'severa' and hinting at her general impassivity. In this translation, bursting into tears is the condition for the other members of the family to believe that Jo is happy. The Aurora translator also stresses Jo's imperturbability in chap. 3. When Meg advises Jo to behave well at the ball at the Gardiners', Jo reacts stating 'Don't worry about me. I'll be as prim as I can and not get into any scrapes, if I can help it. Now go and answer your note, and let me finish this splendid story'. In the Aurora version Jo does not react to her sister's advice. Firstly, 'Jo abbassò il capo senza promettere nulla' and, secondly, 'imperturbabile, rosicchiò tre o quattro mele acerbe'.⁷¹⁰

Likewise, the Aurora emphasises Jo's impassivity in another very dramatic moment of the book. After Amy burns her manuscript, Jo goes skating with Laurie without inviting her sister. Amy follows them and almost drowns while skating behind them. Jo realises that her sister is in trouble while skating but, in the grip of anger, she initially decides to keep on skating and to leave Amy to cope with her difficulties. However, soon after this decision, feeling guilty, Jo looks back and sees Amy falling into the water. Alcott's description of Jo who was 'looking pale and wild, with her things half off, her dress torn, and her hands cut and bruised by ice and rails and refractory buckles' becomes for Aurora a further occasion to oppose Jo's usual lack of feelings to her very emotional reaction to this event: 'Era pallida Jo, aveva le mani ferite, le vesti a brandelli: una espressione di terrore le trasformava il viso ordinariamente così impenetrabile' (p. 80). According to Trites, Jo's crisis resolves 'in an evangelical moment of development'⁷¹¹ and this conversion in Aurora has Jo bursting into tears in Amy's arms. Their heads rest on a white pillow to emphasise this moment of repentance and forgiveness:

⁷¹⁰ Interestingly in this case, Fiorini does not follow the Aurora translation, but depicts Jo as moved by Meg's words, who 'abbassò il capo mortificata' (p. 23).

⁷¹¹ Trites, *Twain, Alcott*, p. 46.

Amy opened her eyes, and held out her arms, with a smile that went straight to Jo's heart. Neither said a word, but they hugged one another close, in spite of the blankets, and everything was forgiven and forgotten in one hearty kiss (p. 80).

Amy si mosse nel letto, aprì gli occhi, scorse Jo, le tese le braccia, Jo vi cadde con un singhiozzo, e le due testoline riposarono insieme, per un poco sul bianco guanciale (p. 83)

Alongside this interpretation of Jo's character, the Aurora occasionally turns Jo into a more negative character than in the original text and less inclined to overcome her flaws. The novel explains Amy's complex about her nose due to the fact that Jo had accidentally dropped her into the coal hod. The adverb 'accidentally' is not present in the Aurora version giving her more responsibility in what happened: 'Quando era ancora in fasce Jo l'aveva lasciata cadere nella cassetta del carbone' (p. 44). In chap. 4, 'Burdens', the sisters are getting ready for a new day of work and study, but they are nervous and in a bad mood. Jo feels irritable especially towards their mother and Alcott describes her thoughts in this way: 'Jo tramped away, feeling that the pilgrims were not setting out as they ought to do'. In the Aurora version, Jo's conscience bothers her, but at the same time does not see any reason for change: 'Jo uscì per la prima con la coscienza che le rimordeva e anche con la convinzione che per il momento non era il caso di pensare a diventare più malleabile' (p. 39). Whereas Alcott portrays Jo's nuanced poised between being 'energetic, assertive self developed during the tomboy phase and an adult female identity conforming to the models of society',⁷¹² Aurora translation turns her into a usually impassive character, only to exacerbate her emotional reactions in key moment of the narration in order to sharpen the sentimentalism of the book.

The Corticelli translation seems to modernise Jo's character and to bring her closer to readers through her language and through some additions. Apart from the point already raised about Jo's economic independence, the Corticelli translation stands out for underlining on a couple of occasions Jo's tomboyishness, referring to her as 'maschiaccio'. The first occurrence is in her description. Jo had 'the uncomfortable appearance of a girl who was rapidly shooting up into a woman

⁷¹² Sharon O'Brien, 'Tomboyism and Adolescent Conflict', p. 355.

and didn't like it'. Corticelli interprets Jo's clumsiness in her adolescent appearance 'un'aria irrequieta da maschiaccio che va diventando rapidamente donna e non ne è affatto contenta' (pp. 11-12). The second occurrence substitutes Jo's wildness with the epithet already used:

over her big harum-scarum sister [Jo] Beth unconsciously exercised more influence than anyone in the family (p. 41)

Beth, senza saperlo, esercitava più influenza sopra Jo, la maschiaccia, che chiunque altro della famiglia (p. 58)

Readers become aware of Jo's use of slang expressions from the first chapter, when Amy reproaches her for using unladylike words. In the first encounter between Jo and Laurie, she imagines Laurie studying hard on his book once at college: 'I suppose you are going to college soon? I see you pegging away at your books, no, I mean studying hard'. All the translations apart from the Aurora and Fiorini opt for 'sgobbare' keeping a colloquial register. However, for instance, Jo's exclamation, 'Christopher Columbus', is literally rendered in all the translations except for the Corticelli that turns it into, the more familiar to Italian readers, 'porca miseria' (p. 38). The Corticelli translator is open to transforming English syntax in direct speech through the use of oral structures so to mimic the oral discourse. Among these strategies, Diambra uses some structures of spoken Italian, such as the indicative instead of the past conditional: 'Lo sapevo, coi piedi dentro quelle cose ridicole, che ti succedeva qualcosa' (p. 46), a hypothetical clause with a double 'imperfetto indicativo' 'se non era per Laurie, poteva essere troppo tardi!' '(p. 112)⁷¹³ and the so called 'dislocazione a destra':⁷¹⁴ 'to turn our own stories against us, and give us a sermon instead of a romance!' becomes 'hai preso i nostri racconti e ce li hai applicati a noi, a ciascuna il suo, una predica, non una storiella ci hai dato (p. 64), while 'I forbid him to do it' turns into 'Io gliel'ho

⁷¹³ On the use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive and past conditional as a sign of orality see Paolo D'Achille, *Sintassi del parlato e tradizione scritta della lingua italiana* (Rome: Bonacci, 1990), pp. 295-300.

⁷¹⁴ The 'dislocazione a destra' entails the presence of a direct or indirect complement at the end of a sentence preceded by a pronoun.

proibito, a Teddy' (pp. 260-62).⁷¹⁵ All these strategies bring literary language closer to everyday language. In the same direction we find Diambra's choice for Italian idiomatic sentences: 'Jo was at her wits' end' is translated as 'Non sapeva che pesci pigliare' (p. 47)⁷¹⁶ and 'Buds will be roses, and kittens cats' is rendered with 'Basta: se saranno rose fioriranno' (p. 263-64).

Two translations stand out from the corpus for their treatment of the character of Jo: the Parisi translation for Aurora and the Diambra translation for Corticelli. Both of them reflect features of the socio-historical situation of women in the actual translations. The Aurora presents a usually unemotional Jo in order to emphasise her sentimental reactions taking place in important scenes of the book, such as her reconciliation with Amy or her literary debut. The Parisi Jo also complains about the lesser freedom that women have compared to men, but that at the same time seems more engaged in helping her family than in achieving a personal economic or financial independence. The Corticelli, on the other hand, depicts a more modern Jo whose tomboyishness is not concealed, who asserts her right to spend her salary and who uses an oral language shared by readers of the translation.

⁷¹⁵ Details of the oral features of 'dislocazione a destra' see Anna-Maria De Cesare, 'La scrittura italiana odierna, tra modi dell'italiano parlato e della scrittura anglo-americana', in *Il parlato nella scrittura italiana moderna: riflessioni in prospettiva testuale*, ed. by Angela Ferrari and Anna-Maria De Cesare (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 33-56 (pp. 36-38).

⁷¹⁶ This choice follows the Carabba option for 'Non sapeva a che santo votarsi' (pp. 45-46).

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to trace an in-depth account of the Italian publishing field in a moment of profound change between the 1920s and the 1940s. Our survey of the history of the translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* has worked as a heuristic tool to give insight into, and analytical purchase upon, a cross section of the Italian publishing landscape from different perspectives. The Italian translations of these two novels have a significant documentary value in pinpointing narratives related to race and gender during the Ventennio and in highlighting the complex and often contradictory relationship between Fascist Italy and the US. The study of these translations also revealed continuities and discontinuities between the regime and Liberal Italy, not only with regard to publishing, but also in terms of cultural and ideological influences affecting the translations examined. This analysis has, moreover, been of methodological value in highlighting the need to integrate visual representations into the study of the reception of literary work, and to consider the importance that extratextual factors, such as the presence of different readerships, played in the retranslation of books.

The various chapters showed that pursuing an integrated research that takes into account publishing history, paratext and translations is crucial to reach a better understanding of the history of the Italian publishing industry during the pre-fascist and fascist years. The comparative analysis carried out on the history of publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women* in the USA, UK, France and Italy has alerted us to the different trajectories of the two novels and to the specificities of the Italian publishing field from the mid-nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth. The initial differences between the two novels highlighted by their history of publishing took a more clear shape in the light of their examination from the paratextual and textual perspectives.

The high visibility of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the Italian book industry can be evinced from the almost uninterrupted publishing history until 1945. However, the number of its editions peaked during the Ventennio. The high number of editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which were only issued during the Ventennio (53) can be compared to the 41 published in the longer time span from 1852 to 1922, and

thereby highlights a publishing field determined not only to profit from the already well-known novel, but also aimed to further foster its success. Looking at the translations published, we observe the republication of the same translations coming from the nineteenth century (Salani, Sonzogno and Bietti) and the occurrence of publishing houses sharing the same translations (Bemporad and Nerbini). This bears testimony to the publishers' strategy to carve out a particular position for themselves in the literary field by only pursuing 'a difference in physical terms, through the format'⁷¹⁷ of their editions. At the same time, the translation analysis corroborates the continuities with pre-Fascist Italy. Beecher Stowe's novel appears embedded in the historical context of Italian colonialism since the beginning of the Twentieth century. At that period, the character of Tom started to be interpreted in the light of the Italian colonial enterprise in Africa. This overlapping between colonised populations and Tom was also salient in editions published under the Ventennio, where it also served the cause of Anti-Americanism. This surfaced in the Italian history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the form of criticisms against the USA, which was accused of being racist against black people and 'of double standards for censuring Italy's conquest of Ethiopia when there is segregation and lynching in their own country'.⁷¹⁸

Given that illustrations offer 'another way to create meaning' in a written text,⁷¹⁹ the combined analysis of history of the book with the examination of its history of illustrations resulted to be fundamental in understanding the reception of Beecher Stowe's book and revealed cultural influences that were not always openly elucidated in the translations. Specifically, the identification of the multiple representations of Tom and of the omission of scenes representing black literacy, together with the presence of significant textual passages redolent of Italian colonial literature, contributed to illuminate the multifaceted interpretations of the racial theme at stake within the history of this novel in Italy.

The translation analysis reinforced the contrasting visual representations of the character of Tom, as the narrative of him conveyed in the translations issued during the Ventennio displayed a highly nuanced and opposing set of ideological

⁷¹⁷ Deane-Cox, *Retranslation*, p. 66.

⁷¹⁸ Dunnett, *The 'Mito Americano'*, p. 198.

⁷¹⁹ Pereira, 'Book Illustration', 117.

influences. Specifically, where there was an emphasis on the racial element in the translations, it was found to have been already present in editions dating from the beginning of the twentieth century and simply re-published during the Ventennio. At the same time, looking at the three editions marketed for the first time under the regime (Barion 1928, Nerbini abridgement 1928 and Salani 1940), in the light of their audiences, clarified the different interpretations of Tom they conveyed. Barion, which aimed at a readership interested in reading an integral translation with a philological approach, kept Tom's depiction close to the original. Nerbini and Salani, targeted a young and a popular readership that were addressed by the colonial propaganda, and therefore described a character redolent of the representation of black people in colonial literature. The case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* shows the colonial and racial echoes that can be read in the interstices of text and paratext, that chime with contextual factors in ways that are both textual and visual, explicit and implicit.

The reception and circulation history of *Little Women* mirrors this, in a way, shifting the focus more towards gender issues and the role of women in (pre-) fascist Italy. Nonetheless, the same interplay between text, paratext and context shows the importance of taking into account these different layers of reading in order to render reception history in its complex socio-cultural and historical ramifications. The case study of *Little Women* enriched the examination of the publishing landscape with a different perspective. While *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was made suitable to the Italian political agenda, this was not the case for Alcott's novel. Published in the USA in 1868, this novel centred on the character of the tomboy Jo and proposed a model of female education that exhorted girls to shape their future according to their passions. The book was considered too innovative for the contemporary Italian literature for girls. Nineteenth-century Italian works promoted a model of life that envisaged women's roles as mothers and wives, and this helped to retard the reception of Alcott's novel. Its cultural value during the Ventennio was still debatable. Critics judged the novel positively, but tended to assimilate it within the Italian educational novels that had in *Cuore* by De Amicis their most significant example. However, under the Fascist regime, it was openly criticised as a dangerous book for the young because of its depiction of promiscuity and excessive liberty. After the first Italian translation in 1908,

editions progressively increased, reaching eight in the 1930s and ten editions from 1940 to 1945. In this case, too, despite the theoretical ban on the book, the Fascist period seems to have boosted the production of editions of *Little Women*. However, the Italian publishing industry did not have a solid history of earlier editions upon which to rely for this work. This led to intense competition among the publishing industries, which not only produced editions that differed in their paratextual elements, but also in the way they commissioned different translations. The competition among publishers became more acute following the release of its film version and the consequent presence on the market of film stills. In 1934 and 1935 three contending editions were marketed (Bemporad, Bietti and Aurora), all using film stills, and thereby witnessing a rapid response to the development of the mass media, and particularly to the growing presence of cinema. The transmedial success of LW thus added extra surrounding textual and visual layers that came to influence the reception of the novel.

If the history of publishing revealed the profound fascination for the USA through the mediation of cinema, the survey of the visual paratext allowed to chart the influence of film stills until 1941, when the illustrations used in the Corticelli edition imitated film stills. The visual examination of the editions included in the corpus highlighted that the advent of film stills marked an emphasis on the character of Jo in Italian editions, most likely due to Katharine Hepburn's interpretation. The survey of newspapers' and cinema magazines' articles on Katharine Hepburn's interpretation of Jo consolidated this hypothesis. She was acclaimed by the Italian press as a symbol of modernity as opposed to the outmoded sentimentality of the film.

The excessively modern education of the March sisters, which had hindered an early reception of *Little Women* in Italy, still appeared a problematic issue in its visual representations and in its translations under the Ventennio. Seen in the light of the growing concerns about female fashion, the omission of images depicting Jo's haircut in Italian editions is potentially significant. The translation analysis helped to sharpen the focus on the contradictory policies towards women operating during the regime, as an oscillating depiction of the character of Jo has been found in the Italian translations of Alcott's book. Throughout the selected translations, we found a contradictory treatment of passages of her bemoaning her

female condition and her desire for economic independence. Hence, these passages stressed Jo's non-conformist features while, at the same time, toning them down to turn her into a woman more similar to the model fostered by the regime. As in the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a society in movement and a somewhat ambiguous policy towards women, could not be unproblematically crystallised in images: paratext, remediation and translation, different mediating structures, became a marginal battleground for very central issues in (pre-)fascist society.

This study has provided evidence of how retranslations are best understood in relation to extratextual factors that act as the main driving forces behind the retranslation process. This survey has pinpointed for both the case studies the role of competition between publishers and their need to address and appeal different readerships. Both these factors triggered the retranslation of these two American classics. The Fascist period seems to have been particularly attentive to the production of editions targeting a young audience for both the novels examined. Among the 47 editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* published during the Ventennio, 17 addressed the young. As for *Little Women*, it is worth underlining that only the firms Aurora and Bietti did not explicitly market their translations for a young audience, contrary to all the other imprints (Carabba, Bemporad, Corticelli and Fiorini). Likewise, the necessity of the publishing firms widening their adult audience to encompass the growing presence of film goers led to the retranslations of *Little Women* which appeared in 1934 and 1935.

Furthermore, the *Little Women* case study provides evidence that contradicts the theory according to which the process of retranslation is a linear progression from an initial domesticating translation to a series of retranslations which gradually 'get' closer to the original text. The first Italian translation of 1908 (Carabba) showed a closeness to the original text that would be found again only in the translation of 1941 (Corticelli). The retranslations in the intervening period (Bemporad, Aurora and Bietti) were less close to the English-language text. Therefore, the process of retranslations seems characterised by 'ebbs and flows of accomplishment' rather than moving 'steadily upward towards a pinnacle of achievement and restoration'.⁷²⁰ The translation analysis has also pinpointed a

⁷²⁰ Deane-Cox, *Retranslation*, p. 189.

series of inconsistencies in translations strategies, from the contradictions already outlined concerning the representation of Tom and Jo, to the coexistence of domesticating and foreignising strategies. Hence, ideological influences need to be considered not as something imposed from above, but as influenced by editorial circumstances and personal intervention. What is more, it is fundamental to consider that at times individual translators 'seem to pick and choose their own unique combination of norms'.⁷²¹ Accessing the 'black box' of translators' mind is a hard task, and indeed almost an impossible one when dealing with anonymous translators or with translators who did not leave archival records. In these cases the only possible tool to use is cautious formulation of hypotheses.

The image of the publishing field of the Italian Ventennio resulting from this examination tallies with the multifaceted descriptions already outlined in works that constitute the base of this investigation. By providing further evidence of the intricate and discontinuous web of agencies and influences affecting the publishing world under the Fascist regime, this work has assigned particular importance to two highly significant elements that were gaining momentum in the passage from an elite to a mass culture: the growing prominence of visual paratext and the search for new readerships. In doing so, the thesis has attempted to illustrate the central value of history of book and translation history, and has revealed how translations, both in their material shape of volumes and in their content, are able to contribute to the understanding of the national history.

⁷²¹ Kieran O'Driscoll, *Retranslation through the Centuries: Jules Verne in English* (Oxford; New York: Peter Lang, 2011), p. 258.

APPENDIX 1

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

UK

1852 *UTC, or life among the lowly*, London: H. G. Bohn, pp. 483, ill.; 1852 ____, pp. 320 (with introductory remarks by James Sherman)

1852 ____, London, Bosworth, pp. 488

1852 ____, reprinted verbatim from the 10th American ed., London: Clarke & Co., pp. 329; 1852 *UTC or Negro life in the slave States of America* "People's illustrated edition", pp. 380, with 50 engravings; 1852 ____, pp. 380, with 40 illustrations

1852 *UTC, or life among the lowly*, London; Belfast: Sims and M'Intyre, pp. 304

1852 ____, London: Warne, ill., 316 pp.; [not before 1865]; [1877] pp. 407, ill.; [1887], pp. 316; [1887] pp. 407, ill. "Incident and adventure library"

1852 *UTC or the history of a Christian Slave*, London: Partridge and Oakey, 275 pp., ill., 8°; [1853] pp. 524, ill. engravings by Johnston

1852 *UTC* with 27 illustrations on wood by Cruikshank, London: Cassell, pp. 391, 8°; [1887?] *UTC, a tale of life among the lowly*, London; Paris; New York; Melbourne: Cassell & Co., Limited, pp. 382; [1887] "Cassell's red library"; [1896] London: Cassell and Co., pp. 680, ill. Nystrom Stoopendaal, in 8°; [1899] London; Paris; New York, Melbourne: Cassell & Co., pp. 680, ill. Stoopendaal; [1908] pp. 426; [1910] ill.; [1920] London; NY, pp. 426, ill.

1852? *UTC, or Slave Life in America*, London: Gall and Inglis, pp. 281, ill.; [1900?] pp. 366, ill.

1852 *UTC a tale of Life among the Lowly, or pictures of slavery in the USA*, London: Ingram, Cooke & Co., pp. 355, ill.; [1852] with sketch of the authoress, laws relating to slaves and slavery in the US, pp. 182 (6 ed.); [1853] *UTC, or Life among the Lowly: a tale of slave life in America*, London: Nathaniel Cooke, pp. 392, with above 150 ill. drawn by Thomas-Macquoid

1852 *UTC or, Negro Life in the slave states of America*, London: Bentley, "Standard novels", pp. 461, ill.

1852 [ca] *UTC, the great American novel*, to be completed in six weekly numbers, price one penny each, London: Vickers, 96 pp.

1852 *UTC a tale of life among the lowly*, pp. 480 ill., London: Routledge with 27 illustr.; [1852] Routledge & co., pp. 351 ill.; [1852] London: Routledge and Co., C. H. Clarke & Co. with 40 illustrations, p. 380 (3 ed.); [1853] ill. by Phiz, Gilbert and Harvey, London: Routledge & Co., pp. 480; [1853] with a preface of Earl of Carlisle and 27 illustr.; [1857] 8°; [1867] new ed. London: Routledge and Sons, pp. 192; [1875] pp. 480, ill.; [1879] introd. and bibl., London: Routledge and Sons with ill. by G. Thomas; [1880] pp. 529, ill.; [1897] pp. 529 ill. by Thomas

1852 *UTC*: Cassell's edition of *UTC* London: Piper brothers and co. with 8 ill.

1853 *The Juvenile Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Abridgement arranged for young readers by Mrs. Crowe, London: Routledge & Co., pp. 214, 8°

- 1853 *All about little Eva (from UTC)*, London: Partridge and Oakey, pp. 48, ill.
- 1853 *UTC, or life among the lowly*, London: Sampson Low, Son and Company, ill. 560 pp.
- 1853 _____, Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, pp. 508 ill.
- 1853 *UTC for children* in "Stories for summer days and winter nights Seventh volume", London (Paternoster Row): Groombridge & Sons, ill.
- 1853 *UTC, or, Negro life in the slave states of America*, London: Richardson & Son, pp. 448, ill.
- 1853 *A peep into UTC* by Aunt Mary (i.e. Mary Low) for her nephews and nieces (a selection of passages from UTC with plates)
- 1853 *Pictures and stories from UTC*, London: Nelson and Sons, pp. 32, ill.
- 1853 *All about poor little Topsy*, London: Partridge and Oakey, pp. 39, ill.
- 1855 *UTC or Negro life in the slave states of America*, London: Milner and Company, pp. 444; [1878, 1890?] pp. 404
- 1855? *True stories from UTC*, London: Darton and Co., Holborn Hill, 14 pp. ill. 8°; [1860 ca.] ill., 16°
- 1860 *UTC or negro life as it was in America*, London: Simpkin, Marshall, Kent, S.D. Ewins, pp. 368
- 1865 [not before], *UTC*, London: The Boy's own paper office, pp. 562, ill. (ed. and slightly abridged by Irwin Clarke Huston) [1925, 1933]
- 1868 *UTC for children*, London: Routledge & Co.; [1885?] pp. 192, ill.
- 1870 *UTC or, negro life in the slave states of America*, London: Ewins, pp. 443 "Cottager's library" [1880] pp. 358, Wakefield: William Nicholson & sons; London, S. D. Ewins; [c. 1900, pp. 368]
- 1871? *UTC a tale of life among the lowly*, London: Milner and Sowerby, pp. 391, ill.; [1880?] London: Milner & Co., pp. 352; [between 1883 and 1913] pp. 392, ill.
- 1877 *The daisy's first winter and other stories (An evening in UTC)*, Edinburgh: Nimmo, ill.
- 1877? *UTC* (with a sketch of the life of Reverend Josiah Henson, generally known as "Uncle Tom", London: Ward, Lock "Lily series" – Home Treasure Library, pp. 325, ill.; [1879]; [1900?] Ward, Lock & co. "The rainbow series", pp. 424
- 1880? _____ London: Sands, pp. 320, ill. by Cruikshank; [1899] pp. 320, full page ill. by Edwards
- 1881 _____, Francis Edward Longley's complete and unabridged penny ed., London
- 1882 _____, Edinburgh, "The anchor series", 8°
- 1882 *My new toy book*, London: Religious tract society, (includes the story of Eva and Topsy), ill.
- 1884 *UTC: a picture of slave life in America*, new ed., London: W. Scott; [1905]
- 1885 *UTC*, London: George Bell & Sons, pp. 483, ill.; [1891]
- 1886 _____, London: Hodder and Stroughton, pp. 426, 5 ill.
- 1888 *UTC*, London: James Nisbet with introduction and notes by Jean Fagan Yellin, "Pilgrim series", pp. 400, ill., 12°

1890 *UTC: a tale of life among the lowly*, London: T. Nelson, pp. 516, ill.; [1905] "The Nelson Classics" pp. 531, ill.; [1905] London: Nelson and Sons, 8°; [1906] London: Nelson "Nelson's Sixpenny classics"; [1906] Nelson and Sons, pp. 531, ill.; [1919] London & Edinburgh "Nelson Classics" pp. 531, 8°; [1919] ed. abridged, London; Edinburgh, pp. 64, ill., 8°; [1923] Nelson Classics, pp. 531, ill.

1890 *UTC, or Negro life as it was in America*, London: William Nicholson and Sons, pp. 368, ill.

1890 *UTC, a tale of life among the lowly*, London: Hutchinson, pp. 331, with 27 ill. by Cruikshank; [1920] "Series of popular stories, pp. 331, 8°

1891 *UTC*, London: John Hogg, with 100 ill. by Thomas and biographical and critical sketch

1891 *UTC*, London: Trischler & Co. (ed. by Rae Julia, ill. Maplestone Florence) "Old stories told anew", pp. 97, ill.

1894/1895 *UTC or life among the lowly* abridged for young readers, London: John Hogg, pp. 32, ill. 8°

1895? *UTC or the history of a Christian Slave* abridged for young readers, London: Partridge & co., pp. 32, ill.,

1896 *UTC*, abridged version "Penny popular novels" (with Aldersyde and The queen's diamonds); [1900 ca.] pp. 60, 8°

1898 *UTC or life among the lowly*, Copeland, ill., 8°

1901 *UTC a story of slavery in America fifty years ago* carefully edited for children, London, ill. by Brinsley Le Fanu, 8°

1904 *UTC*, London: Adam & Charles Black, with 8 full-page illustrations in colour by Simon Harmon Vedder

1904 ____, told to children by H. E. Marshall with pictures by Forrest, London; NY: T. C. & E. C. Jack; E. P. Dutton & Co., "Told to the children series", pp. 115 [1905, 1906]

1906 ____, with preface of Earl of Carlisle, unabridged, London: Charles H. Kelly, pp. 319, ill.

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1917 ____, abridged and retold in easy words chiefly of one syllable by A. Pitt-Kethley, London: Routledge

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- 1928 *A race for freedom: taken from the story entitled UTC*, London: Nelson, "Books within the books" pp. 120 [1928] London & Edinburgh, 8°
- 1928 *UTC*, London: Readers Library, abridged, pp. 253
- 1933 _____, slightly abridged by C. H. Irwin, London, 8° "Golden Arrow library"
- 1934 _____, revised version, Thomas Albert Ellsworth, NY; London: Appleton-Century company
- [1934] _____, "Nelson's Famous books for Boys and Girls" pp. 531, ill.
- 1936 _____, abridged Irwin, London: Herbert Strang's library, 8°
- 1936 _____, London & C.: Ward, Lock & Co. "Sunshine series"
- 1937 *The Children's UTC*. Adapted by F. H., London: Harrap & Co., pp. 79
- 1940 _____, London, "Sandle miniature library", abridged, pp. 16, ill.

FRANCE

- 1852 *La Case du Père Tom ou Vie des nègres en Amérique*, trad. de La Bédollière, Paris: Gustave Barba; [1853] pp. 324 in-8 Barba; [s.d.] in-8 pp. 112; [s.d.] in-4 pp. 112 avec illustrations anglaises; [1859, 1863, 1868] avec une notice de George Sand in-8 pp. 112
- 1852 *La cabane de l'oncle Tom, ou la vie des nègres en Amérique* trad. De Wailly et Texier, Paris : Perrotin ; [1853] in 8° ; [1856] 4 ed. ; [1859] *La case de l'oncle Tom ou les noirs en Amérique*, in-12°
- 1852 *La Case de l'oncle Tom*, trad. Pilatte, Nantes : impr. De Mme V. Mangin, pp. 152
- 1852 *La Cabane de l'oncle Tom ou la vie des nègres en Amérique* trad. Michiels, Paris: Garnier Frères [1853] pp. 503, 3-4 ed., in-18 ; [1887] *La Case de l'oncle Tom ou la vie des nègres en Amérique* ried. Michiels ; [1931, 1934] pp. 433, ill. de Ch. Hirlemann
- 1853 *Un coup d'oeil dans la case de l'oncle Tom*, extrait de l'ouvrage de Mme Henriette Beecher Stowe et destiné à la jeunesse, avec une Lettre de Mme Beecher Stowe adressée aux enfants, Toulouse: Société des livres religieux
- 1853 *La case de l'oncle Tom, ou la vie des nègres en Amérique*, trad. Enault, Paris
- 1853 _____, trad. Le Brun, Paris : Flammarion ; [1914] nouv. Trad. Le Brun « Bibliothèque de meilleurs auteurs français et étrangers »
- 1853 _____, trad. Léon Pilatte, Paris : Librairie nouvelle, pp. 512, in-18
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- 1853 _____, trad. Louis Barré, Paris : J. Bryainé, pp. 224, in-18
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- 1853 _____, trad. par Victor Ratier ed. revue et annotée, Ardant
- 1853 _____, *ou vie des nègres dans les états à esclaves d'Amérique*, trad. Rolet et Romey, Paris : Borrani et Droz, pp. 458, in-18
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- 1853 *L'esclave noir ou La case de l'oncle Tom*, trad. Cayla, Paris : Administration de la librairie de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires
- 1855 *La case de l'oncle Tom*, Hachette et Cie, 8°
- 1855 _____, *ou la vie des nègres en Amérique*, ried. Enault, Hachette, 12° ; [1859] 12° ; [1859, 1870] Hachette et Cie; [1865, 1876] Hachette « Bibliothèque des meilleurs romans étrangers », pp. 440, 16° ; [1890] ; [1907] Hachette « Bibliothèques des meilleurs ... », pp. 440; [1910] _____, *roman américain*, Paris: Hachette et Cie, pp. 440
- 1856 *La case de l'oncle Tom, ou la vie des nègres en Amérique*, nouv. Trad. Lebrun, Paris : Cie
- 1857 _____, *ou tableau de l'esclavage dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique* ried. Old Nick et Joanne, Paris : Delahays, ill., 8°
- 1857 _____, trad. Ratier, Limoges, Paris : Martial Ardant frères, pp. 192, in-8°
- 1868 _____, trad. Enault [1893]
- 1875 _____, trad. Pilatte augmentée d'une introduction par George Sand: ed. Calmann Lévy, 2 voll. [1896-1897]
- 1876 _____, trad. De Chatenet : Ardant, 8°
- 1883 _____, trad. Barré « Ill. libraire des villes et des campagnes »
- 1887 _____, Paris: Lecène et Houdin, in 16° [1888, 1889, 1891] in 18°
- 1887 *La case de l'oncle Tom*, trad. Enault abrégée, Paris: Hachette et Cie « Bibliothèque des Ecoles et des familles », pp. 317, 8°; [1899] nouv. ed. pp. 517, ill. ; [1901] pp. 516
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- 1893 _____, trad. Duclos, Paris : Librairie illustrée « Chefs d'œuvre du siècle illustrés », pp. 96, ill., 16°
- 1893 _____, *Episodes*, Paris: H. Gautier «Nouvelle Bibl. populaire», pp. 36, 8°
- 1896 *Case de l'oncle Tom*, Paris, pp. 317, ill. 18 engravures, 8°
- 1911 _____, Paris: Hachette
- 1912 _____, Traduit et arrangé par Mme Louis Hourticq, Vincennes: les Arts graphiques
- 1928 _____, Adaptation de Marguerite Reynier, Paris: Flammarion, pp. 127, ill. de Pierre Noury, 4° (Livres pur l'enfance et la jeunesse)

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- 1931 _____, Adapté par Henriette Rouillard, Paris: Delagrave « Bibliothèque Juventa », pp. 246, ill. de M. Lecoultré, 8°
- 1931 _____, traduit par Maurice Lachin, Paris: A. Fayard, pp. 254, couv. en coul., 16°
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- 1933 *La Case de l'oncle Tom racontée aux enfants*, d'après le roman de Harriet Beecher Stowe, par Théo Varlet, Nelson Collection "Je raconte"
- 1934 *A ses jeunes amis Paul Reboux raconte la Case de l'oncle Tom*, Paris: Flammarion « Paul Reboux raconte », pp. 192, ill. de Touchet
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- 1936 *Un coup d'oeil dans la case de l'oncle Tom*. Adaptation pour la jeunesse, 9e édition, Cahors, impr. Coueslant; Dieulefit (Drôme): Nouvelle Société d'éditions de Toulouse
- 1937 _____, adaptation pour la jeunesse par Madeleine Charlier; Éditions Chagor, ill. de Leroy

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- 1852 *Il tugurio dello zio Tom: racconto americano*, Florence: Mariani, pp. 703
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- 1853 *La capanna dello zio Tom, o Vita dei negri*, Naples: Stamperia del Fibreno, ill., pp. 271
- 1853 _____; *ovvero, vita de' negri in America*. Free version from French by Luigi Lo Gatto. Naples: G. Nobile
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- 1853 _____, Trad. Giuseppe Lazzaro, Milan: Tramater
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- 1854 *Lo zio Tom. Narrato ai fanciulli*. Version of the priest L. G., Milan, ill. [no publisher listed]
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- 1871 _____, Racconto, Milan: S. Muggiani e comp., one vol., ill. by Antonio Massutti, pp. 446
- 1875 _____, New version, Milan, Naples: Francesco Pagnoni "Biblioteca scelta economica", p. 391 [1877 New version pp. 391], [1885; 1891; 1893; 1898 pp. 391] [1904] New version – Bibl. scelta
- 1883 _____, racconto, new version ill. by Sig. Bonamore, Milan: Premiata Casa Editrice di Libri d'Educazione e d'Istruzione Paolo Carrara, ill., pp. 618 [1894 pp. 618 – 1905 pp. 285]
- 1885 _____, Florence: Adriano Salani [1891; 1896 pp. 405; 1899 pp. 405; 1903 pp. 405]; [1909] _____, racconto, pp. 405, 1 ill.
- 1888 _____, narrata ai fanciulli per cura di C. Grolli, Milan: Libr. Di Educazione Ed Istruzione Paolo Carrara Edit., (Tip. Letteraria), ill., pp. 240
- 1900 _____, Soc. Edit. La Milan, pp. 444, ill. con 4 tables
- 1902 _____, Milan, Vallardi; [1928]; [1932] Abridgement for the youth pp. 169; [1939]
- *1903 _____, new version by Palmiro Premoli, Milan: Sonzogno, pp. 278, ill. [*1909] pp. 278 ill.; [*1930 "Biblioteca Romantica Illustrata", L. 10.50] [1931] [*1939] pp. 279, ill.
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- 1911 _____, Adattato per i fanciulli da Mario Corsi. Roma: Voghera
- *1912 _____, new Italian translation and introduction by Fulvia, Hoepli pp. 384 with 48 tables., ill.; [*1923] Hoepli p. 377 with 48 tables; [*1928] 3[^] ed. pp. 378, 59 ill. 48 tables leg. L. 28; [*1940] 4[^] ed. pp. 438 with portrait, 107 ill. e tables, L. 32
- *1913 _____: *racconto della vita dei negri d'America prima dell'abolizione della schiavitù* translated and abridged for the youth by Luigi di San Giusto, Turin: Paravia, pp. 200, ill. con 8 tables.; [1921] pp. 200; [1923] pp. 200 ill.; [1935] abridgement from English completely revised by Luigi di S. Giusto, pp. 236 con 11 tables by Carlo Nicco, 8°, leg. L. 12; [*1940] abridgement from English by Luigi di S. Giusto, ill. Carlo Nicco, "Collana dei bei libri per fanciulli e giovinetti diretta da

⁷²² 'Although listed on the title page as fourth printing, this edition differs from the first one. The second and third printings have not been seen. Fifth and sixth printings appear in 1930 and 1937' (Woodress, *'Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy'*, p. 138).

Maria Bersani" 1^a rist., pp. 236, with 13 ill. L. 14; [1943] L. 20; [1944] "I bei libri serie C", pp. 235; [1945] "I bei libri serie C", pp. 236

*1919 _____, by Mara Fabietti Milan: Fed. Italiana delle biblioteche popolari "Biblioteca di coltura popolare", pp. 228

*1920 _____, Milan: Treves, "Biblioteca amena", in 2 voll. , L. 3,50 each volume [1929], [1935]

*1921 _____, Florence: Salani "Salani Romanzi" pp. 534, ill.; *[1922] "Bibl. Economica" pp. 422; [1924];[1939] "Grandi romanzi Salani", pp. 530

1925 _____, Florence: Salani, pp. 422 ill. by Alberto Michieli

1926 _____: racconto, Florence: Salani, pp. 534 ill.; [1928]

*1927 _____, Florence: Salani "Popolarissima" pp. 374

*[1928] full length translation, translated by Mara Fabietti, Barion, pp. 494; [1929], [1930], [1931], [1933]; [1935].

*1928_____: dal popolarissimo romanzo di Enrichetta Beecher Stowe, abridgement by Franco Bello, Florence: Nerbini "Collana romanzi popolari", pp. 52, ill., 1 L.

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1932 _____, Milan: Madella, pp. 350

1934 _____, trad. e rid. di Filippo Faber, Milan: Genio – pp. 203 ill.; [1941] pp. 266 with 25 ill. by Leporini; [1945] pp. 224, ill. by Leporini

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1939 _____, Milan: Edizioni educative economiche "I libri celebri ridotti e illustrati per ragazzi", pp. 31, ill.

*1940 _____, Riduzione, Florence: Salani "I libri meravigliosi", ill. 4 tables

APPENDIX 2

LITTLE WOMEN

UK

1869 *Little women, or, Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*; illustrated by May Alcott, London: Sampson Low, Son, and & Co. 341 p., [3] leaves of plates: ill, Opie collection of children's literature; 1871, *Little Women or Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy ...* Two parts complete in one volume. Second edition, London: Sampson Low & Co., pp. 464; 8°; [1872, Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, pp. 221, Opie collection of children's literature, Low's copyright series of American authors]; [1874, New and cheaper edition, pp. 221, Rose library: Popular literature of all countries]; 1907, *Little Women and Good Wives*, London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, pp. 617, ill. by Alice Barber Stephens, 8°; 1912?, *Little Women and Little Women Wedded*, pp. 451; [1938, pp. 293]; 1937 *Little Women* etc. London: Sampson Low & Co., pp. 276, 8°; 1937 Sampson Low and Co, pp. 308, 8° /1869, *Little Women* part II, London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, pp. 359, 4 plates; 1874, *Little Women* wedded, forming a sequel to *Little Women*, pp. 242, 'Rose Library', 8°, pp. 242

1871, *Little women: a story for girls*, 'Lily series', London: Ward, Lock, & Tyler, iv, pp. 283, [1] p.: illus.; [1872]; [1878]; [1884]/ 1871 *Good wives*, a sequel to 'Little Women', London, pp. 313 [1872]; [1874?, pp. 313]; [1882, pp. 313, ill. 'Lily Series']; [1883, London: New York, pp. 313, Lily Series]

1873, *Little Women or Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy ...* Two parts complete in one volume. Second edition, London: G. Routledge & Sons, pp. 198; 8°; [1876, ill. – juvenile audience]/1873? *Little Women married*, pp. 219, ill.

1875, *Little Women or Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy ...* Two parts complete in one volume. Second edition, Weldon & Co.: London, pp. 216, 8°, Daisy Books/ 1875 *Nice Wives*: a sequel to 'Little Women', 'Daisy Books', pp. 209

1878 *Little Women and Good Wives: being stories for girls*, ill., London, "The Home Treasure Library"

1879, *Little Women or Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy ...* Two parts complete in one volume. Second edition, pp. 193, London; 8°.

1879, *Little Women. A story for girls*, 'The Good Tone Library'/1879 *Good Wives: a story for girls*. Being a sequel to *Little Women*, pp. 313, 8°, 'The Good Tone Library'; [1884 *Good Wives*, a sequel to 'Little Women', 'Good Tone library']

1879, *Little Women*, pp. 193, London: Frederick Warne and Co., Warne's star series, 8°; [1880? pp. 263]; [1910, *Little Women and Little Wives*, London: Warne]

188- *Little Women*. Parts I and II, Edinburgh: Nimmo, Hay & Mitchell, pp. 192

1880 *Little Women* [and *Good Wives*], London: D. Bogue, 8°, pp. 590 [1881, ill.]

- 1880, *Little women, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), London: W. H. Allen & Co., pp. 590
- 1880, *Little Women, and Little wives*, London: (Halifax), Milner & co., pp. 238
- 1890, *Little Women* [and *Good Wives*], pp. 448. J. Nisbet & Co., London, 8°
- 1894, *Little Women ...* By the author of *Good Wives*, pp. 232, Blackie (W. G.) and Son. Blackie's School and Home Library, 8° [1894, London; Glasgow; Dublin]; 1907 *Little Women, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), London: Blackie & Son, pp. 288; 8°; [1908, *Little Women: a story for girls*, pp. 288, 'Blackie's Library of famous Books Series']/1900? *Good Wives: a story for girls*, being a sequel to *Little Women*, pp. 223, 'Blackie's Library of famous Books Series']; 1903 ill. by Walter Webster, pp. 223, London: Blackie; [1907, pp. 223, 8°, English Authors for School Reading']; [1908, pp. 216 'English Authors for School Reading']; [1939? pp. 223, ill.]
- 1895, *Little women and Little women married*, London: Richard Edward King, 2 pt., ill. 8°
- 1896, *Little Women and Good Wives*, London: Bliss, Sands & co., pp. 384, ill. (juvenile audience); [1900]
- 1897, *Little Women and Good Wives*, London: Sunday School Union, pp. 188, 8°, ill. 'Endeavour Library'
- 1899, *Scenes from Little Women*, London: Edward Arnold, pp. 61; 8°, 'Ranger Series'
- 19— *Little Women*, London: Bruce Publishing, pp. 212, ill.
- 1900, *Little Women*, Abridged, pp. 60, 8°, The masterpiece Library. Penny Popular Novels
- 1900, *Little Women*, Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, Hay, & Mitchell, pp. 192, 8°
- 1900, *Good Wives; a story for girls*, being a sequel to *Little Women*, London: Wakefield, William Nicholson & sons, pp. 253
- 1903, *Little Women and Good Wives*, London: S. W. Partridge & Co., pp. 415; 8°, 6 ill.; [1904?]; [ca. 1908? London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 8 & 9 Paternoster Row, ill., 5 leaves of plates]
- 1903, *Little Women ...* Abridged. With notes and introduction, London; Glasgow: Collins, Collins' Supplementary Readers, pp. 96; 8°, ill.; 1903 *Little Women and Good Wives*, London: Collins' Clear-Type Press London and Glasgow, pp. 274, ill., 8°; [ca. 1905?] pp. 248, 8 leaves of plates; 1927 *Little Women*, London: Collins Clear-Type Press, pp. 248, ill. by Jessie M. King, 'Collin's bumper reward books'; 1933 *The Little Women Omnibus. Little Women and Good Wives* by L. M. Alcott. *What Katy did* and *What Katy did at School* by Susan Coolidge, London; Glasgow: Collins' Clear-Type Press, London; 1936, *Little Women*, Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, pp. 315, 8° 'Laurel and Gold Series'.
- 1903 *Good Wives*. A sequel to *Little Women*, London: Richard Butterworth & Co. pp. 209, 'New Green Library'
- 1904, *Little Women*, London: C. A. Pearson, pp. 410, 8°, ill. by H. M. Brock
- 1907, *Little Women and Good Wives*, with an introduction by Grace Rhys, pp. 451, 8°, London: J. M. Dent, 'Everyman's Library'; [1907 London New York: Dent; Dutton, pp. 451, Everyman's Library for Young People]; [1934 Toronto, London, NY: Dent; Dutton, pp. 451, ill.]; [1948, pp. 448]

1907 *Little Women*, by the author of *Good Wives*, ill. by Alice Barber Stephens, London & C., 'English authors for school reading' / 1907 *Good Wives*... being a sequel to *Little Women*, 8°, London, English Authors for School Reading

1908, *Little women*, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), London: Seeley & Co., pp. 199; 8°.

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1909 *Little women*, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), J. M. Dent & Co., Temple Continuous Readers, pp. 214; 8°

1909 *Little women*, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), London: G. Bell & Sons, pp. 306; 8°, Queen's Treasures Series/1911, *Good Wives*. A sequel to *Little Women*, ill. by Wheelhouse, pp. 316, 8°, Queen's Treasures Series

1909 *Little women, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), London: Henry Frowde, pp. 240; 8°; [1910? London: Henry Frowde : Hodder & Stoughton, pp. 240, ill. 'Herbert Strang's Library']; 1923 *Little Women*, London: Oxford University Press, Herbert Strang's Library/1908 *Good Wives*, pp. 234, ill. London: H. Frowde: Hodder and Stoughton]; [1910, 8°, Herbert Strang's Library]; [1923, *Good Wives*, pp. 234, ill. 'Herbert Strang's Library']; [1929?, pp. 235, ill.]

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1912 *Little women, or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*. (The illustrations designed by Frank T. Merrill.), London, pp. 304; 8, Everett's Library/1912 *Good Wives*. A sequel to *Little Women*, Everett's Library, pp. 302, 8°

1912 *Little Women*, and *Little Women Wedded*, London: Globe edition

1912 *Little Women* With eight coloured plates reproduced from original water-colour drawings by Harold Copping. With a preface by Flora Klickmann. Popular edition, London: R.T.S., pp. 319; 8° [1913]; 1912-1913 *Little Women: good wives*, New ed., 2 vols.

- 1914, *Little Women and Good Wives* ill. by G. Ridout, London : C. H. Kelly, pp. 384; 8°, Every Age Library
- 1914, *Little Women* ... With introduction & notes by Jean McWilliam. Abridged, pp. 180; 8°, Longmans' Class-Books of English Literature
- 1919 With eight coloured plates reproduced from original water-colour drawings by Harold Copping. With a preface by Flora Klickmann. Popular edition.] pp. 288. Blackie & Son: London, 8°.
- 1921 *Little Women*, Lond. & C. 'Nelson's library for girls'
- 1922 *Little Women*, ill. by M. E. Gray, London: Hodder & Stoughton; [1934, pp. 320]
- 1920 *Good Wives: a sequel to Little Women*, London: Hutchinson, pp. 320, 'Hutchinson series of popular stories' / 1922 *Little Women, or, Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*, London: Hutchinson, pp. 319, 1 ill.
- 1922 With eight coloured plates reproduced from original water-colour drawings by Harold Copping. With a preface by Flora Klickmann. Popular edition.] pp. 322. Hodder & Stoughton: London & Toronto, 4°
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- 1926 *Little Women [and Good Wives]* ... Edited by Albert Lindsay Rowland ... Illustrated, New York: Macmillan Co., pp. 535, 8°, Modern Readers' Series
- 1926 *Little Women* ed. by M. E. Maxwell, London; Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons 'King's treasures of literature', pp. 317, 8°
- 1926 With eight coloured plates reproduced from original water-colour drawings by Harold Copping. With a preface by Flora Klickmann. Popular edition.] pp. 317. J. M. Dent & Sons: London & Toronto.
- 1926 *Little Women* illustrated by Percy Tarrant, 8°; 1933 The Louisa M. Alcott girls' book, *Little Women and Good Wives*, ill. by Percy Tarrant, 2 pt., 8°
- 1927 *Little Women and Good Wives*, Toronto & London: Letchworth Printed: J. M Dent & Sons, pp. 451, 8°
- 1930? *Little Women. (Good Wives)*, London: Odhams Press, 2 pt.; 8°
- 1932 *Little Women* ... Illustrations by Bessie Darling Inglis, London, 8°
- 1932 *Little Women*, London & C. Nelson's Famous Books
- 1933 *Little Women. (Abridged edition)*, London, pp. 156; 8°, Foulsham's Boy and Girl Fiction Library/1934 *Good Wives (Abridged edition)*, London, pp. 157, 8°, Foulsham's Boy and Girl Fiction Library
- 1933 The Louisa M. Alcott Girls' Book ... *Little Women, Good Wives. Abridged ed. With plates*, London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 2 pt.; 8°
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